*Vol. IX., No. 35* *September, 1920*

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## An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

## Letters Philosophy & Science


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## REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on **Monday, the 26th day of July, 1920.**

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 30th June, 1920.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to .. | £37,862 | 12 | 1 |
| To which has to be added — | | | |
| Balance of undivided profits from last Account .. .. .. | 17,295 | 15 | 3 |
| | £55,158 | 7 | 4 |
| The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund .. .. .. | £10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| And to Credit of Investments Account .. .. .. .. | 15,000 | 0 | 0 |
| They recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :— | | | |
| In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Eight per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax) .. .. | 20,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To next Account .. .. .. .. .. .. | 10,158 | 7 | 4 |
| | £55,158 | 7 | 4 |

The Directors have to record with deep regret the death, on the 29th ult., of their colleague, MR. JOHN LOUIS SCALLAN, who was a member of the Board since the year 1889, and who, during the entire period of his Directorship, rendered valuable services to the Bank.

The vacancy thus caused has been filled up by the co-otion of MR. CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN, and it is anticipated that this selection will meet with the approval of the Shareholders.

By Order of the Board,

JAMES M. GREER
Secretary.

DUBLIN, 12th July, 1920.

# THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1920. Cr.

| LIABILITIES. | £ s. d. | ASSETS. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share ... ... | 500,000 0 0 | By Cash in hand and with Bankers ... | 1,828,159 6 3 |
| ,, Reserve Fund ... ... ... | 170,000 0 0 | ,, Investments, viz.:— | |
| ,, Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits ... ... | 12,042,362 13 0 | War Loans and other Government Stocks ... ... ... | 5,108,267 0 0 |
| ,, Sundry Agents ... ... ... | 10,379 13 1 | Colonial Government Stocks, Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and Mortgage Bonds, and other Securities ... | 802,564 18 3 |
| ,, Officers' Superannuation Fund (of which £37,980 9s. 7d. is invested as per contra) ... ... ... | 42,950 5 4 | | 7,738,991 4 6 |
| ,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity ... ... ... | 11,990 16 7 | ,, Investment a/c, Officers' Superannuation Fund:—£40,000 5 per cent. War Stock, 1929-1947 ... | 37,980 9 7 |
| ,, Profit and Loss Account £55,158 7 4 | | ,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc. | 4,831,336 7 3 |
| Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund £10,000 Placed to Credit of Investment Account £15,000 25,000 0 0 | | ,, Sundry Agents ... ... ... | 54,915 2 4 |
| | 30,158 7 4 | ,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 53 Branches), written down to ... ... | 144,618 11 8 |
| | £12,807,841 15 4 | | £12,807,841 15 4 |

## PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1920.

| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rent and Taxes, Repairs, and all other outlay ... ... ... | 83,859 5 2 | By Balance from last Account ... | 17,295 15 3 |
| ,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund ... ... ... | 10,000 0 0 | ,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies ... ... | 121,721 17 3 |
| ,, Amount placed to Credit of Investments Account ... ... | 15,000 0 0 | | |
| ,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1920, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. ... 20,000 0 0 | | | |
| ,, Balance to next Acct. | 10,158 7 4 | | |
| | 30,158 7 4 | | |
| | £139,017 12 6 | | £139,017 12 6 |

### AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Those redeemable at par or over par on fixed dates (including the War Stocks and War Bonds) stand in the Balance Sheet at under cost price, and all the other Investments at the market prices current on 30th June, 1920. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 12th July, 1920.

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VOL. IX. No. 35.

# STUDIES

## An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

# Letters Philosophy & Science

SEPTEMBER. 1920.

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☞ STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

The price of single Copies is Half-a-Crown net. (Foreign Countries, 3s. net.)

The yearly subscription is Ten Shillings, post free. (Foreign Countries, 12s., post free; U.S.A. and Canada, $3.00 post free.)

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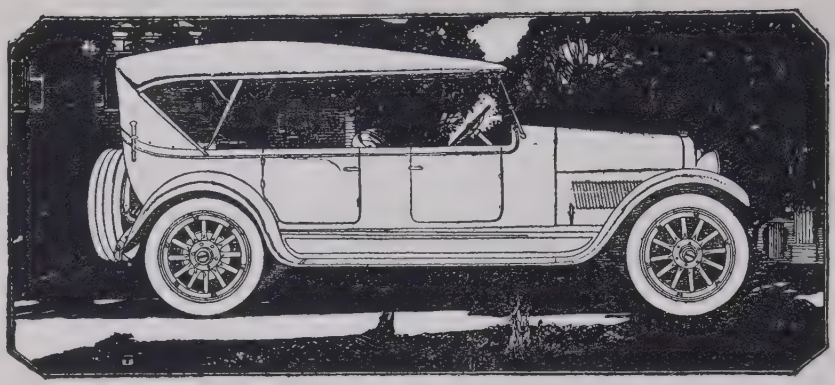

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# S. THOMAS'S THEORY OF PROPERTY.

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED O'RAHILLY, M.A.

THE revival of Thomistic study initiated by Pope Leo XIII. has been hitherto practically confined to metaphysics. So accepted has this limitation become that it excites no notice or comment. It is almost taken for granted that Scholasticism in general, and Thomism in particular, has no connexion with social and political thought. No doubt it requires research and reconstruction to formulate the social principles of S. Thomas, though many Dominican commentators have considerably lightened the task. But it is really easier to discover, say, the views of Aquinas on democracy or property than to disentangle his pronouncements on predetermination; and it would certainly be more useful. For it is precisely in its ethico-social teaching that contemporary Catholic philosophy is weak and undeveloped. Since the French Revolution, largely owing to the influence of men like von Haller, de Maistre and de Bonald, there has been a breach with the past which not even the Encyclical *Æterni Patris* has been able to repair.[1] Yet some historical investigation into the social and political principles advocated by the older Schoolmen, who were thoroughly alive to the importance of such advocacy, is essential if Catholic philosophy is to do something more than provide theses for seminaries and questions for examinations. Many a musty tome, labelled *Summa Casuum* or *Commen-*

[1] Leo XIII. in this Encyclical aimed also at reviving the political and social teaching of S. Thomas.—*Lettres apostoliques*, i., 70.

*tarii*, which seems repellent and obscure to us, was in its day far nearer to the realities of men's lives than are the daintier but shallower textbooks of to-day. And often, if we have the patience to wade through these uncouth Latin folios, we shall find in them principles and arguments more apposite to contemporary minds than can be found in their stunted successors.

A brief study of S. Thomas's views on property is hardly in need of such a preliminary apology, for not only were these views expressed with his unrivalled precision and lucidity, but they contrast in several points with what S. Thomas might be expected to say were he alive to-day. The differences may be partly, but only partly, explained by the emergence of new factors and fresh problems. It is well to remember, as Fr. Rickaby says,[1] that "any pretence to tell what S. Thomas now would say, were he alive, must be illusory unless it be grounded upon an accurate and adequate knowledge of what he actually has said in the writings which he has bequeathed to us." There is, therefore, something more than historical interest in investigating what he has said about property.

In two consecutive articles of the *Summa*[2] S. Thomas discusses (1) "whether the possession of exterior things is natural to man" and (2) "whether it is lawful that anyone should possess anything as his own." The very division of the problem is significant; for it shows that S. Thomas first treats property as a genus and then adduces private property as a species. This distinction, though obvious, is important, since it is only property in this generic sense, abstracting from collective and individual forms, that is, according to S. Thomas, of natural right.[3] "To the extent of utilizing things," he says, "man has a natural dominion over exterior things,

[1] *Scholasticism*, 1908, p. 92.

[2] 2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 1 and *a.* 2.

[3] This is clearly interpreted by Père Schwalm, O.P.: "Prescinding from its species, in its primary and universal principle, property is of natural right."—*Leçons de philosophie sociale*, i., 296. *Cf.* also *Revue thomiste*, 3 (1895) 287, 635.

because through his reason and will he can utilize exterior things for his own benefit as if they were made for him." Thus it is only the Creator who has an absolute dominion over nature, man has merely the usufruct ; he is, as it were, God's tenant.[1] Being endowed with reason and will, he has the power and privilege of making a purposive use of things : not an absolute right of using, wasting or destroying, but a reasonable use essentially subject to moral limitations and subordinate to the end which God has assigned to the goods of the earth. Within these limits humanity has the natural right to appropriate exterior things.

But is it lawful that the individual should appropriate for himself ? That is the next question faced by S. Thomas ; and he does not answer it in the affirmative without making a seemingly modern distinction. Private property is lawful and even necessary if it means "the power of procuring and dispensing," that is, individual control over production and distribution, but not in so far as it pertains to consumption (*quantum ad usum*). Which at first sight is a very curious answer, inasmuch as it is the exact reverse of that type of socialism which would socialize production and distribution but would leave consumption individual.[2] S. Thomas, of course, lived in an age of individual handicraft and could not have foreseen group-production and the factory system. But, unlike many subsequent doctrinaires, he did not convert an empirical fact into a natural right. He held that it was

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[1] Deus habet principale dominium omnium rerum.—2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 1, *ad* 1. *Cf.* Bishop Ketteler—Goyau, *Ketteler*, 1907, pp. 104, 111.

[2] Fr. H. Pope, O.P. [*Tablet*, 3 Jan., 1920, p. 6], comments on "the strikingly communistic language" of Aquinas. This comment is apparently based on a misinterpretation of the phrase, "the power of procuring and dispensing." If S. Thomas seems to imply that a man may procure only with a view to dispensing, so does every economist ; production should be subordinate to distribution. The phrase (*potestas procurandi et dispensandi*) is usually mistranslated. Thus Fr. Rickaby, S.J. (*Aquinas Ethicus*, ii., 54) : "the power of managing and dispensing." And Père Schwalm, O.P. : "le pouvoir de soigner et d'administrer son bien."—*Revue thomiste*, 3 (1895), 643.

by human consent, given for weighty reasons and expressed in positive law, that the functions of production and distribution were entrusted to individuals.[1] This individual control, indeed, he considered "necessary to human life," but this is not an *a priori* necessity, it is purely conditional and purposive.[2]

He bases this necessity on three grounds: (1) The stimulus of personal enterprise. "Every man is more interested in producing for himself rather than for all or many; for each one shirks toil and leaves to another what concerns the community, as happens when there is a multitude of servants."[3] (2) Co-ordination and specialization. "Human affairs are managed with more order if each one has the special function of producing something; were everyone indiscriminately to produce everything, confusion would result." (3) Social peace. "A more peaceful state of society is preserved if each one is satisfied with what is his own. Hence we see that disputes occur more frequently among those who possess anything together as a body."[4]

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[1] 2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 2, *ad.* 1: secundum humanum condictum, quod pertinet ad ius positivum. "The right of private property, unlike the right of property in general, is not a first principle of natural right. But it is a sort of social contract, based on a reasoned and particular application of natural right."—Père Schwalm, *Leçons de philosophie sociale*, i., 309 *f.*

[2] 2.2, *q.* 57, *a.* 3: secundum utilitatem consequentem.

[3] Though this argument is taken from Aristotle, it contains a perennial truth of human nature and may have been verified by S. Thomas even in religious communities.

"What is common to many is taken least care of. Men pay most attention to what is their own and less to what is common, or at the best they only attend to it inasmuch as they are personally concerned; for, apart from other reasons, they are inclined to be negligent owing to the idea that someone else is looking after it."—Aristotle, *Politica*, ii., 3, 1261, *b.* 33. *Cf.* S. Thomas, *Pol.* ii., 2; Fretté, 26, 145. Also Albertus, *Pol.* ii., 1; Borgnet, 8, 96 *b.*

[4] So Albertus: Nulli tantum dissident sicut illi quibus sunt omnia communia.—*Politica*, ii., 2; Borgnet, 8, 111*b*. S. Thomas says elsewhere (*Contra gentes*, iii., 135) that this argument does not apply to religious communities. It is worth pointing out also that S. Thomas does not consider the case of those individuals who, owing to the monopoly of others, have no part in production and distribution—men anxious for work but unable to procure it. How far are such individuals at all bound by the present property-arrangements?

These arguments are very remarkable both in what they say and in what they do not say. They were unanimously accepted by the Scholastic philosophers and theologians down to the nineteenth century. "The division of goods," says a famous commentator,[1] "is not simply and essentially necessary for the peace of mankind, but only on the supposition of sin and the inconveniences consequent on sin; hence it cannot be concluded that it is simply of natural right." "Communism," declares a great Dominican writer,[2] "is not of itself pernicious but only on account of the inconveniences which happen to arise therefrom owing to men's corruption." This is the essential point of S. Thomas's teaching. Private property, so far as pertains to production and distribution, is a matter not of absolute abstract right but of experienced necessity; it is not to be assumed *a priori* as self-evident and irrevocable, it can be defended only on the ground that the alternative is less desirable. Were a state of society to arise in which S. Thomas's three reasons could no longer be seriously urged, or if an alternative social and industrial system were devised which would not lead

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[1] Sylvius on 2, 2, *q.* 66, *a.* 2, *ad* 2; *Commentarii*, 1667[3], p. 461*b*.

[2] Billuart, *De iure et iustitia*, diss. 4, a. 1, dices 5; *Summa* (Paris, 1895), vi., 58. *Cf.* diss. 1, a. 3, dico 2 (p. 12): Haec conclusio licet bene inferatur, non tamen est absolute necessaria, . . . sed infertur ut conveniens, supposita hominum incuria in bonis communibus. These citations from Billuart and Sylvius—and they might be multiplied indefinitely not only from Scholastic but from Patristic works—show that Mr. Belloc is historically inaccurate when he contrasts with "the true Catholic arguments in defence of property" the "indefensible" argument that "private property should be held . . . because human nature is necessarily imperfect and base."—*The Catholic Church and the Principle of Private Property*, 1920, p. 6. *Cf.* Driedo, *De libertate christiana*, i., 4 (*Opera*, 1572, iv., 9*c*): Naturae humanae integrae seu sanae ac non vitiatae semper quidem congruit omnia esse communia, naturae autem iam infirmae ac vitiatae non sic hoc ipsum congruit. Laymann, *De iustitia*, i., 5, 5 (*Theol. mor.*, Lyons, 1681, p. 262*b*): Neque etiam credibile est homines rerum sibi a Deo communiter donatarum divisionem aliquam institutores fuisse, nisi in peccatum fuissent. Lessius, *De iustitia et iure*, ii., 5, 8: Neque natura secundum se ad eam [divisionem] inclinat, non enim illam quaerit nisi in vita civili ubi vivendum cum aliis et suppositis incommodis ex hominum pravitate provenientibus. And is it not Mr. Belloc's own thesis that "politicians" are so "imperfect and base" that they cannot be trusted with the administration of communal property?

to worse conditions than those now prevailing (and they are bad enough), then S. Thomas's arguments for the necessity of individual control would no longer hold. This is clearly and frankly stated by Fr. Bede Jarrett, O.P. :—[1]

> The justification for this division is based on the experience of the race ; if, therefore, such a state of things should arise in which the experience of the race suddenly or slowly discovered that to avoid neglect, quarrels, confusion, it were better once again to resort to what is acknowledged on all hands to have been the earlier type of possession, who can denounce such a return as unchristian or immoral ? . . . It is sheer cant for me to speak of the sacredness of private property when it consists for the moment in depriving many of private property altogether. The present arrangement of property was adopted because it was found to work ; it may, therefore, be again discarded if it be found to have outlived its serviceableness.

Since, then, S. Thomas's defence of private property is based not so much on principles of theoretic right as on facts of social experience, it is clear that the intervening centuries may well have brought into existence new facts capable of modifying his arguments or his conclusion. Indeed even in his own day the reasons—taken almost verbatim from Aristotle—which he alleges were hardly adequate to the gild structure and communal activities of medieval society. At any rate he seems to have failed to consider the possibilities of social control and craft organisation. In his eyes the only alternative to individual control was chaos : " There would be confusion if everyone were to produce everything indiscriminately." And similarly with reference to distribution he says : " Because many are suffering want and all cannot be helped from the same thing, the distribution of his goods is left to the decision of each one that he may help therefrom those in want."[2] Obviously there are other possi-

[1] *Meditations for Layfolk*, 1915, p. 127. *Cf.* the same writer's *Medieval Socialism*, p. 47.

[2] 2, 2, *q.* 66, *a.* 2 and *a.* 7.

bilities besides everyone producing everything and each individual deciding independently. And as S. Thomas appears to have been unaware of these possible social adjustments, he was also consequently unaware of the new dangers to individual freedom arising out of such systems.[1]

Prescinding, however, from the inevitable historical limitations of S. Thomas's exposition, we can discern in it the permanently valuable principle that any defence of the existing mechanism of production and distribution must be grounded on social expediency and communal interests.[2] This principle emerges even more clearly in S. Thomas's treatment of consumption or use. "As to this," he says,[3] "a man ought to hold exterior things not as his own but as common, so that he readily shares them with others in need." Though the actual terminology is Aristotelian,[4] the idea is simply a development of the κοινωνία or *communicatio* of the early Church.[5] It is also the reassertion of the unanimous teaching of the Fathers. "I know that God has given us the use of goods," writes Clement of Alexandria,[6] "but only in so far as is necessary,

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[1] The entire absence of any argument for private property based on the necessity of individual freedom is most remarkable not only in S. Thomas but in all the older Scholastics. This is historically explicable inasmuch as (1) they lived when the moral force of the Church was supreme and thus made even serfdom tolerable, and (2) they did not foresee the political and economic development of the modern State.

[2] So also Albertus Magnus: Unusquisque enim natus est plus curae impendere proprio quam communi; ut si illud bene colatur, etiam ad bonam fruitionem communicationis proveniat; et hoc bonum accipit ex hoc quod propriae sunt possessiones.—*Pol.*, ii., 2; Borgnet, 8, 109*b*.

[3] 2, 2, *q.* 66, *a.* 2. *Cf.* Albertus, *Pol.*, vii., 8: Borgnet, 8, 685*a*.

[4] Aristotle, *Pol.* vii., 10, 1329, *b*. 41: "We do not advocate that property should be common in the way that some have proposed, but only that it should be common by the friendly *use* made of it, and that none of the citizens should lack food."

[5] The expression occurs in *Rom.*, xv., 26, II. *Cor.*, viii., 4, ix., 13. Compare *Didache*, iv., 8; *Const. apost.*, vii., 12, 5; etc. Tertullian, *Apol.* 39: Itaque qui in animo animaque miscemur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus.

[6] *Paedagogus*, ii., 12; Migne, P. G., viii., 541-3. Also in the *Quis dives*, §31, he says that "all property which a man has acquired by himself and regards as his own and as not common to those in need, is of its nature unjust."

and He has determined that the use should be common. It is indecent and disgraceful that anyone should live magnificently and luxuriously when so many are hungry." "Find out how much God has given you," says S. Augustine,[1] "and take from it what is sufficient for yourself; the rest, which is superfluous, is necessary for others. The superfluities of the rich are the necessaries of the poor; to possess what is superfluous is to possess what belongs to others." S. Thomas did not attempt to explain away this teaching, he accepted it, but sought to make it precise. The patristic view is that the use of the goods which God has given to mankind must not be hampered by the creation of any artificial juridical relations or the assumption of unrestricted rights. Each individual has, so to speak, a definite consumption-value, not mathematically fixable and not equal in every condition of life; and this modicum constitutes a quantitative limit to property-rights, over and above which the individual can exercise no moral claim. The rich man's position is, according to S. Basil's famous comparison,[2] "as if a man who took a place in a theatre should prevent others from entering, regarding as his own what was provided for the common use of all. Such are the rich; being first to take what is common, they make it their own by this preoccupation. Whereas if each one took what was sufficient for satisfying his own needs and left the rest to those in want, there would be no rich and no poor." On which passage S. Thomas remarks:[3] "A rich man does not act unlawfully if, while occupying beforehand something which from the beginning was common, he shares it also with others; but he does sin if he indiscriminately prevents others from the use of that thing." S. Thomas thus accepts S. Basil's comparison of the world to a theatre wherein

[1] *Enarratio in Ps.* 147, 12; Migne, P. L., 37, 1622.

[2] *In illud Lucae: Destruam, etc. hom.*, §7; Migne, P. G., 31, 276. He goes on to ask: "Surely it is not God who is unjust, who so unequally distributes life's necessaries to us?"

[3] 2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 2, *ad* 2.

God has provided seats for us all. There are physical and moral limits to a man's consumptive capacity and appropriation for use—in the world as well as in a theatre. There comes a certain point in class monopoly when the rest of the audience—even the habitués of the gallery—have prior claims to accommodation.

While, then, S. Thomas admits, on social grounds, the individual control of production and distribution, he will tolerate no such exclusive rights in the matter of consumption or use. That is, he admits private ownership so long as it is a network of juridical relations directing and co-ordinating the creation of economic values. But when he comes to the actualization and concrete utilization of this wealth, he refuses to grant any property rights save such as are based on the needs and capacities of all the individuals concerned. "The temporal goods which by God's providence are conferred on a man are his indeed so far as relates to property, but in their use they should belong not only to him but also to others who can be supported from what is superfluous to him."[1] This is his argument in brief :—[2]

> What is of human right cannot detract from natural or divine right. But, according to the natural order instituted by divine providence, inferior things are ordained to satisfy men's needs. Hence a man's right to have his needs satisfied by such things is not interfered with by the division and appropriation of things which is based on human right. Therefore those things which any possess over and above their wants (*superabundantur*) are by natural right due for the support of the poor.

Superabundance and superfluity are obviously not susceptible of mathematical measurement ;[3] but they need not be left entirely indeterminate and vague. Sub-

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[1] 2.2, *q.* 32, *a.* 5, *ad* 2. He seems here to contrast *proprietas* and *usus*. But elsewhere (2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 2, *ad* 3) he speaks *de proprietate quantum ad usum*. Père Schwalm (*Revue thomiste*, 3, 1895, p. 643) rightly takes *usus* as "the perfect and final act of the right of property."

[2] 2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 7.

[3] 2.2, *q.* 32, *a.* 5, *ad* 3 : Debent diudicari superfluum et necessarium secundum ea quae probabiliter et ut in pluribus occurrunt.

sequent commentators have introduced a division which is implied by S. Thomas himself: (1) necessaries, (2) conveniences (*superflua naturae*), and (3) luxuries (*superflua naturae et status*). In this way what is conventionally called a man's property can be analysed and the theory of common use can be applied. Every man has a natural right to the necessaries of life and in case of grave need he has a right to take what he requires wherever he can get it; and anyone who refuses to help such a man sins grievously. We are bound to surrender even conveniences in order to supply necessaries for others; and as to luxuries, we have no claim at all to them so long as there exist those who lack necessaries or conveniences.[1] "The Lord," says S. Thomas, "commands us to give to the poor not only a tenth part [of our income], but *all* our superfluities."[2]

Against this clear doctrine many difficulties have been raised and various apologetic distinctions have been introduced; and in later times the teaching is often passed over with discreet silence, no doubt from the kindly intention of softening such hard sayings. "In my opinion," writes a great modern preacher, "one of the gravest errors in the world is the perverse view held by

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[1] "To give alms from what is superfluous is of obligation; also to give alms to one in extreme necessity."—2.2, *q.* 32, *a.* 5. "There is a certain interval during which the omission to give alms amounts to a mortal sin: (1) on the part of the receiver when there is an evident and urgent necessity and no other helper is available, (2) on the part of the donor when he possesses superfluities which on a probable estimate are not necessary for his present state."—*ibid.*, *ad* 3. Clearly S. Thomas is considering two distinct cases: (1) we are bound to give up luxuries, (2) in the case of the grave need of others we are bound to give up conveniences. So Cajetan (*in loc.*; *Opera S. Thomae*, viii., 254), who rejects the view of a few commentators that both conditions (superfluity and grave need) must be jointly present to constitute a serious obligation to give alms. *Cf.* also Navarrus, *Manuale*, xxiv., 5; and Sarmiento, *De redditibus ecclesiasticis*, iv., 5; Rome, 1569, pp. 222 *ff.* As to case (2). *cf.* Sylvius on 2.2, *q.* 32, *a.* 6, quaeritur 1, concl. 3 [*Commentarii*, 1667[3], p. 192 *a.*], who cites Bannez, Valentia, Vasquez, etc.: In casu necessitatis non quidem extremae sed gravis etiam tenemur facere eleemosynam de superfluo naturae, quamvis illud sit necessarium status. Also Toletus, *De instructione sacerdotum*, viii., 35, Lyons, 1618, p. 935.

[2] 2.2, *q.* 87, *a.* 1, *ad* 4.

many that they are absolute owners of all their property. . . . It is not so. They are the owners indeed, but not absolute; there is a reservation, a restriction. What is it? The obligation to distribute among the poor whatever exceeds the decent maintenance of their state. I know that this is a doctrine not very pleasant to hear; and various theologians have made great efforts to soften and lighten it, and even to reduce it to those cases alone in which the poor have arrived at least at the degree of want termed 'grave.' But the torrent of the saints is so contrary that it frightens us."[1] In practice, however, the subterfuge fails, since the same conclusion is deducible from either view; for the poor we have always with us and "therefore it will always be true that each one is bound under pain of mortal sin to give alms from his superfluities."[2] Neither does it matter much, for most practical purposes, whether we regard this obligation as arising out of charity or as based on justice; for on either supposition the obligation is grave. But this latter question is rather important, as the answer goes to the root of the theory of property and may lead to important social consequences. It therefore merits some consideration.

Though the whole language of the Fathers seems clearly to imply that an individual is not the owner of his superfluities, and that when we give alms to the poor we are giving what is theirs by right, yet it would be hard to discover in their writings evidence of a scientific dis-

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[1] P. Segneri, S.J., *Quaresimale*, predica 22, Milan, 1853, p. 199. Even some Domimican commentators adopted the opinion here rejected. Thus Arauxo on 2.2, *q.* 32, *dub.* 1, *n.* 6: Ex sola superfluitate divitiarum, si non adsit necessitas gravis sive urgens, non oritur obligatio praecepti succurrendi proximo. The statement of Cardinal Toletus (*op. cit.*, p. 936) is worth quoting: "No one is bound under pain of mortal sin to distribute his superfluous goods outside of cases of extreme and grave want. I hold this on account of the common view of doctors, and I do not dare to bind gravely those whom so many and such doctors excuse. But I make this warning. Those who have superfluities should be greatly afraid, and confessors should specially advise them to distribute and not to retain for themselves. For, though the common view of scholastic doctors excuses them, yet holy doctors condemn them, so that it is probable that they are obliged under precept."

[2] Sarmiento, *De redditibus*, iv., 5, Rome, 1569, p. 230 *a*.

tinction between justice and charity.[1] Their concept of justice might be expressed by Ulpian's formula :[2] "the constant and permanent will to give each one his right." And in this sense justice really includes charity, though, at least to modern ears, the term charity seems to evoke merely the idea of voluntary condescension without correlative rights in the recipient. The important point upon which the decision rests is the continuance or cessation of the owner's property-rights over his superfluities. If the theory of property here outlined is accurate, then it would seem that on the principles of S. Thomas there is a quantitative limit to what can be covered by the property-rights of any individual. Anything beyond this is not his ; it belongs to the community. "My own superfluities, whatever is over and above my own needs and the proper decency of my life, I can really no longer consider as my own at all ; they are the common property of all my fellows."[3]

Of course it does not follow that any fellow has a right to relieve me of what he considers my superfluities ! What is here stated is that the community, the aggregate of persons forming a social whole, has very definite property rights; that in fact over a large extent of what is ordinarily, in the present state of maldistribution, termed private property, the community is morally owner or co-owner. It does not at all follow that any individual may take it on himself to assert these communal rights ; such action would lead to social chaos. It does not even follow that these rights of the community should be actualized through the political mechanism known as the State, as distinguished from the gild, the craft, the parish, etc.

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[1] *Cf.* S. Basil, *Hom. in Divites* ; Migne, P. G., 31, 281 : "Whoever loves his neighbour as himself will possess no more than his neighbour. . . . The more you abound in riches, the more you are wanting in charity."

[2] *Digest*, i., 1, 10. *Cf.* S. Thomas : Omnes virtutes quae ad alterum sunt possunt ratione convenientiae iustitiae annecti.—2.2, *q.* 80. *Cf.* also 2.2, *q.* 58 *a.* 11, *ad* 1.

[3] B. Jarrett, O.P., *Meditations for Layfolk*, 1915, p. 129.

Nor finally does it follow that this maldistributed mass of economic goods, or rather this complexus of misdirected legalized claims to service, should be socialized or nationalized; the communal claim may be equally or better met by equitably distributing such goods.[1] All these practical and difficult problems, however important, are distinct from the view here attributed to S. Thomas, which, while asserting communal rights over misappropriated wealth, leaves quite undetermined what is the most feasible or the most equitable method of making these rights concrete and actual.

In one special case, when a person possessing conveniences or luxuries is brought into relation with a person in extreme need, S. Thomas and the Schoolmen held that the communal right becomes immediately actualized and particularized.[2] Now the admission of this case would seem logically to involve the acceptance of the whole theory of communal use. For in any modern industrial community there are always many in extreme as well as in grave want; and what prevents the execution of justice is not any limitation of the theory but the lack of an effective social conscience and the absence, as yet, of a practical mechanism. What led to the dilution and weakening of the principle was probably the consciousness that, at all events apart from definite juxtaposition with extreme necessity, there was, so to speak, no tangible defendant accessible. Both in theory and in practice the

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[1] It is a mere prejudice—due to hypostatizing the community into an entity apart from its constituent members—to fancy that communal rights must be inalienably exercised by the community as an indiscerptible whole. Catholic writers, as well as most Socialists, are guilty of this confusion. One needs only to open almost any current book of social apologetics to find a vehement denial of communal property-rights simply and solely on the unexamined hypothesis that these are synonymous with State ownership. So unconsciously has statolatry infected even its opponents!

[2] 2.2, *q.* 32, *a.* 6; *q.* 66, *a.* 7. Even here many Scholastics held that the obligation probably arises *ex charitate*. See references in *Antonius Diana . . . Coordinatus*, tom. 4, tr. 7, res. 2; Lyons, 1667, p. 276. For an attempt to define extreme necessity see Ballerini-Palmieri, *De iustitia et iure*, ii., 1, 19; *Opus theol. morale*, 1892², iii., 246.

concept of social justice is much less developed than that of commutative justice; and unless a moral theologian could subsume a case under the latter category, he was often tempted to relegate it to charity or some other virtue.[1]

Besides particular justice, divided into commutative and distributive, S. Thomas held that there was a general or legal justice, which might be more aptly termed *social* justice, inasmuch as it denotes the claim of society on the individual. "By reason of this right every member of the community is bound not to refuse or deny his goods to the community when necessary," says Suarez;[2] and this form of justice "regards the community as a whole which has a special juridical relation to the goods of the individual members." It was only after the time of S. Thomas that this idea of social justice came to be formally developed.

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[1] After a careful perusal of the Scholastics' disputes on the subject (charity or justice?), I am of opinion that in most instances it was a mere logomachy, owing to failure to define the type of justice involved. Ordinarily all alternatives to *commutative* justice are denominated "charity." The divergent views can be reconciled by maintaining that all super-wealth is communal property which ought to be (but unfortunately is not) available for the needs of all; but, in the absence (1) of a suitable arrangement for tapping this super-wealth or (2) of an urgent case, the claim of any particular individual here and now is based on charity or obligatory social love. When some equitable method is devised whereby the community can directly intervene, the obligation will become one of social justice. Some Schoolmen put the cart before the horse (see Sarmiento, p. 4, c. 5, page 221), and held that because distribution of superfluities binds in charity and not in justice, therefore it cannot be determined by human law; the truth being that it binds in charity only because it is not yet determined.

[2] *De iustitia Dei*, vi., 6. Also S. Thomas, 2.2, *q.* 58, *a.* 5 to *a.* 7. Nowadays this is generally confused with *distributive* justice—a misnomer which stands as the title of Dr. John A. Ryan's excellent book—which is concerned with the allocation of goods and rights already common. *Cf.* S. Thomas: Ad iustitiam legalem pertinet ordinare ea quae sunt privatarum personarum in bonum commune. Sed ordinare e contrario bonum commune ad personas particulares per distributionem, est iustitiae particularis.—2.2, *q.* 61, *a.* 1, *ad* 4. Père Castelein suggested the phrase social justice.—*Inst. phil. mor.*, 1899, p. 316. Typical of our neglect to develop the concept of social justice are the few meagre lines of misinterpretation which even such a distinguished philosopher as Fr. Joseph Rickaby devotes to general justice "which is all virtue whatsoever," and legal justice which is "conformity to law."—*Moral Philosophy*, reissue 1903, pp. 103*f.*; *Four-Square or the Cardinal Virtues*, 1908, p. 47. Good Aristotelianism, but bad Scholasticism.

The community—or more often, unfortunately, the State as a particular expression of it—was regarded as possessing higher property-rights conjointly with the individual. "The community," says Suarez,[1] "or the ruler in so far as he is a public person to whom the community transferred its rights, has a certain high ownership, *i.e.*, of a superior order, over the goods of all the citizens, without excluding their private ownership." This statement would seem to be merely the synthetic formulation of the theory that my "superfluities" are not "my own at all" but "are the common property of all my fellows." For superfluities are largely relative; in a community some of whose members lack necessaries, even the conveniences and conventional necessities of the better-off are superfluous; where the decencies and comforts of life, though not its necessaries, are lacking, all the luxuries of the rich are superfluities. Thus in any community a certain undetermined, but not necessarily indeterminate, proportion of the private property, at present functioning only as misappropriated super-wealth, is in reality "the common property of all." Add to this the view of S. Thomas already given, that individual control over production and distribution is in the nature of a social trust, and it will be seen that there is a great deal of justification for

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[1] *Ibid.* *Cf.* Wiggers on 1.2, *q.* 114, *a.* 3, *n.* 40 (*Commentaria*, 1634², p. 490), and Malderus, *De iustitia*, i., 3, 3 (1616, p. 284 *a.*). The phrase *dominium altum* was taken from the jurists to express this idea. The defect of this is that it seems to attribute to the political government that which is inherent in the community and which need not, and perhaps ought not, be exercised through the particular organisation known as the State. The common objection that *dominium altum* is jurisdictional rather than proprietary is quite irrelevant. It merely means that *if* the communal right is exercised by the ruler, it is not a right of *private property vested in the ruler*; if it were, social justice would be merely a particular instance of commutative. *Cf.* Cathrein, art. "Property" in *Cath. Enc.*, xii., 462: "The term is misleading and should be avoided. Ownership gives to a person the right to dispose of a thing for his private interests as he sees fit. [This is untrue, it does not apply to communal rights of ownership.] The government has no right to dispose of the property of its subjects for its private interests, but only as far as the common weal requires." Which merely proves that the community, not "the government," is the supreme owner.

the following conclusion which a contemporary Dominican follower of S. Thomas has drawn from these premisses :—

My actual determinate right, then, to this or that particular property neither flows from the natural law nor is it opposed to it. It rests simply upon human positive law. And this human positive law is enacted solely for the good of the community ; it is, in S. Thomas's language, only *mine* in order that I may the more easily, peaceably and harmoniously procure and distribute things. But what if I have failed in my distributive action ? What if I have appropriated to myself more than I need ? What if I have begun to regard it as absolutely my own, so that I can squander it or hoard it as I please ? Clearly I have sinned against the community. And equally clearly the community has the right to demand restitution from me ! Restitution, mind ! I have laid myself open to penalties ; instead of having a reasonable claim to compensation, I ought to be punished ![1]

S. Thomas himself, however, as has been already pointed out, is not at all clear or explicit as to the possibility of substituting organised social control for individual "dispensing." "Although a man is bound to give what is superfluous to the poor," he says,[2] "yet he is not bound to give it to all nor to this particular person. But he is bound to distribute it according as it seems to be opportune to him. Neither is he bound to search people out." Similarly, he tells us that the degree of want in another which will oblige a man to give alms under pain of mortal sin "cannot be determined by reason but is entrusted to the prudence and good faith of the dispenser." Not that S. Thomas leaves the determination of superfluities entirely to subjective estimates, for he goes on to say :[3] "Neither a moderate use of riches nor the good faith of the dispenser appears to hold in the case of a man who knowingly goes to superfluous expense for banquets and such-like luxuries ; and so there is no doubt

[1] H. Pope, O.P., *Tablet*, 10 Jan., 1920, p. 38.

[2] *Quodl.*, 8, *a.* 12. But compare the logion cited by Clement, *Quis dives salvetur*, §32 (31) : "Do not wait to be asked, but do you yourself seek out whoever is deserving of help."

[3] *Quodl.*, 6, *a.* 12, *corp.*, and *ad* 4.

that a man sins mortally in such cases." But he seems to have thought that leaving the matter in each case to individual determination was the only alternative to declaring that a man was bound to help everyone indiscriminately.[1] Yet even in S. Thomas's own words we find various indications that he was conscious of at least a partial supersession of the supremacy of private judgment. The Church, for instance, functioned as an organization for socializing superfluities. The individual was not left a free choice, he was bound to give tithes destined not only for the support of clerics but for the relief of the needy.[2] "Church property," declared Gratian's *Decretum* (xii., 1, 25), "not as private but as common and offered to God, should be faithfully and scrupulously dispensed." Besides admitting the Church to be a great almoner and steward, S. Thomas also allowed the legislative and executive machinery of the State to give effect to communal rights. "In both systems, that of private property and that of common property, good is to be found," he says. "But if property is private and if by right laws and customs it is ordained that the citizens should share their goods with one another, then such a system will have the good of both the others." "As to how the use of private property may be made common," he continues, "this is provided for by the good legislator."[3] That this

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[1] See 2.2, *q.* 66, *a.* 7, quoted above, p. 342. It is also important to note that the sole reason which S. Thomas gives for confining obligations to the case of extreme want, is the lack of social organization existing in his own day. "Cum non possit ab aliquo uno omnibus necessitatem habentibus subveniri, non omnis necessitas obligat ad praeceptum, sed illa sola sine qua is qui necessitatem patitur sustentari non potest."—2.2, *q.* 32, *a.* 5.

[2] 2.2, *q.* 87, *a.* 3, *ad* 1; 4 *Sent.*, *d.* 15, *q.* 2, *a.* 1, *sol.* 1, *ad* 3. A great number of Canonists and Scholastics held that clerics can retain ecclesiastical revenues only to supply their necessaries, the rest being the property of the poor.—See references in Sarmiento, *De redditibus*, 1569, pp. 75 *ff.* The Council of Ravenna (1273, a year before S. Thomas's death) declared: Quicquid habent clerici pauperum est.—Mansi, xxiv., 34.

[3] *Pol.*, ii., 4; Fretté, 26, 152-3. *Cf.* Aristotle, *Pol.*, ii., 5, 1263, *a.* 37: "Plainly then it is best that property should be private, but that it should be common as to its use. It is the business of the legislator to bring the citizens to this."

represents S. Thomas's personal view, and not merely Aristotle's opinion, is shown by his incorporating it into his *Summa*. Omitting the special details of Jewish law, the following quotation will show the general principles of economic regulation of which S. Thomas approved :

> The best arrangement of property is, as the philosopher says, that possessions should be distinct and that their use should be partly common, partly shared voluntarily by the possessors. And these three were enacted in [Jewish] legislation.
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> (1) Possessions were divided among individuals. . . . And because many States are ruined by irregularity of possessions (as the philosopher says), the law employed a triple remedy to regulate possessions : (*a*) that they should be equally divided among the population . . . ; (*b*) that they should not be permanently alienated but should revert after a certain interval to their possessors . . . ; (*c*) that to those who die there should succeed in order son, daughter, brothers, uncles, other relatives. . . .
>
> (2) The law established that in some respects the use of things should be common, (*a*) as to care . . . and (*b*) as to product. . . .
>
> (3) The law arranged for the interchange of goods by the owners : (*a*) a purely gratuitous contribution . . . and (*b*) exchange of utilities. . . .

If this scheme is carefully inspected, it will be apparent that it contains in germ principles quite as applicable to the complex civilization of to-day as to the times of the Hebrew prophets or the medieval Schoolmen. Such a passage, too, will help us to realize that, had he deemed it necessary or opportune, S. Thomas was quite prepared to examine or advocate any scheme of social reorganization by which his democratic views on private property might be embodied in the lives and homes of the people.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY.

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[1] 1.2, *q.* 105, *a.* 2. *Cf. ibid., ad* 3 : " If there is unrestricted selling of possessions, it may happen that all the property falls into the hands of a few, and thus the state or country will become depopulated." Cajetan (*in loc.—Opera S. Thomae*, vii., 269) deduces the advisability of ordaining " that neither a church nor anyone else should own beyond a certain amount of land."

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE "LETTRES PROVINCIALES."

BY HILAIRE BELLOC.

PASCAL'S "Provincial Letters" have been in the past unceasingly used, and are even still used, as a weapon against the Catholic Church.

The attack has been variously met; but I do not think there has yet appeared a short and convenient analysis of the specific accusations made. My object in what follows is to present the reader with such an analysis. It is a cold way of meeting such excellent writing, so much wit and fervour; but it is a decisive one.

I leave on one side all that is not evidence in the advocate's presentation of his case—all his rhetoric, all his indignation, all his wit. I confine myself to an exact examination of his witnesses.

There are eighteen of these "Provincial Letters": each shorter than this paper.

Though they are eighteen in number, six alone concern the Catholic in controversy with his opponent. In these six alone are all the points to be discovered which have left in the non-Catholic world vague but strong traditions of a successful attack conducted by Pascal against the practical morals of the Catholic Church.

The first four Letters deal with the long-dead discussion upon "Sufficient Grace." It is with the fifth that the Letters suddenly change and begin their attack upon the Jesuit Order by detailed quotations from Jesuit

pronouncements. This attack was continued through Letters vi., vii., viii., ix., x., in each of which excerpts are given from various Jesuit publications, usually accompanied by exact references. Here, and here alone, does the advocate marshal his evidence.

The remaining Letters (the eleventh to the eighteenth inclusive) are of another kind, and stand apart from the controversy as much as do the first four.

The first thing we have to note in connection with this evidence is that it is entirely concerned with *Casuistry*.

Casuistry is in morals exactly what case precedent and case law are in the system of law : it is the application of law to particular examples. When you are reading a Casuist decision, you are reading an answer to questions framed thus :—" Can there be circumstances in which such and such an action, word or thought was morally permissible ? "

Or again, you are reading an answer to the question :— Could such and such an act in such and such circumstances *possibly* be, though still wrong, not gravely and damnably wrong ? "

Or again : " Is it *certain* that, under such and such circumstances, such and such an act *must* be morally wrong, in spite of all that may, exceptionally, be said in its favour ? "

There are here three points to be carefully marked :—

1. Casuistry is a necessary part of morals, and, granted the Sacrament of Penance, it must become a vast, complex, and, at the same time, essential branch of study for those concerned with the administration of that Sacrament.

2. A Casuist decision is not binding unless it has the authority of the Church. It is only of greater or less weight according to the weight of him that gives it, or the numbers of those authorities that give it.

3. Our judgment of any particular Casuist must be based upon his whole work and not upon a few

examples; since, from the very nature of so wide a study, it is impossible that inaccurate and even contradictory decisions should not appear.

Now let us proceed to an exact examination.

The total number of citations from Casuists (all of the Jesuit Order) appearing in Pascal's evidence against them, is 132.[1]

This, in connection with its subject, is a grotesquely inadequate "sampling" of the whole. It is not one per cent., nor one-half per cent., nor one-tenth per cent. of the whole mass of Casuist decisions. It is a quite insignificant fraction (not one per cent.) of Jesuit Casuist decisions alone.

But even these few citations are inflated. No less than forty-three of them are repetitions. The real number falls from 132 to 89.

Next we note that of these 89 citations a considerable number are frivolously chosen. They either deal with petty points, which no one would seriously use against any grave body of doctrine, or with obvious and common-sense decisions which only fanaticism could reproach.

To prove this I will quote all those which fall under this category. They are 17 in number.

Pascal is shocked (1) to hear that you may take the goods of another in a grave necessity, as, for instance, that a starving man may take food; (2) that we are not bound in charity to give up profit lest another should suffer loss. (For instance, if a man sells me a bit of land for less than he gave for it, and if afterwards the value of land rises, I am not bound to give him back the difference.) (3) He is scandalised to hear that a bankrupt (under the conditions of modern commerce) may be left enough of his fortune to live decently; (4) that you may defend your property with a lethal weapon against a robber; and this (5) whether you are a layman or not (which really

[1] 7 in Letter v.; 16 in Letter vi.; 19 in Letter vii.; 28 in Letter viii.; 26 in Letter ix.; 35 in Letter x.

seems to have nothing to do with the question of morals involved !) ; (6) that there are conditions under which to envy another's temporal goods and to wish to goodness one had his luck, need not be a very grave sin ; (7) that one may eat and drink things palatable because one likes them, and not merely to sustain life ; (8) that very often a promise given lightly is not binding ; (9) that a young woman having made a free choice need not necessarily and under all circumstances give up her choice at her father's command. Is not all this frivolous ?

(10) He bravely protests against a woman's being allowed to dress well, even if (11) by doing so she makes herself attractive ; and he is indignant at (12) the idea that a married woman, taking small change from her husband's table to pay what she has lost at cards, need not imperil her immortal soul. He cannot (13) understand that a man is not guilty of abduction if his companion be a willing partner to the flight they both undertake. He is (14) offended at hearing that we obey the command to love God if we keep His Commandments. He even (15) quarrels against a counsel to an old lady not to overdress, because (he says) it is inconsistent with allowing young ladies to dress as they will. He fulminates (16) against the jocular decision of Garasse that God at least gives bad writers this consolation, that they like their own work ; and is (17) severe against the statement that a young lady's father is not her owner.

So much for the 17. We are left with 72.

Next comes another category, 7 in number, where the points are of more importance, but will clearly be decided by any man of commonsense against Pascal and with the Jesuits. (1) That ecclesiastical laws, like all other laws, lose their force when they fall into desuetude. That has nothing to do with *moral* laws (which cannot fall into desuetude), but only with special—sometimes local —regulations of the Church. If a particular Church custom which has the force of law becomes disused and is

forgotten, clearly, as in the case of any civil law, its effect is gone. Again (2), it is commonsense that a religious who has been forcibly turned out of his monastery is not bound to return to it. And few would quarrel with the decision that (3) in *some* circumstances you have a right to hope for the death (though not, of course, out of hatred) of a person who is threatening you with great danger. It would be ridiculous to say that a person who, from the deck of a ship, saw a German submarine training a torpedo on him during the late war was committing a grave sin if he fervently wished the enemy at the bottom of the sea. And the same (4) applies to particular cases of extreme persecution. It is also reasonable to conclude that (5) not all arguments drawn from a text of scripture can apply to modern conditions. And it is commonsense to say (6) that we cannot call a circumstance an occasion of sin if it is only very rarely an occasion of sin. We cannot say that a man who has got drunk twice in his life is going into an occasion of sin because he goes where he knows that wine will be offered him. It is equally commonsense (7) that, in judging what is and what is not an occasion of sin to be sincerely avoided, we must allow for incommodity. For instance, a man may be so weak as to be tempted to drunkenness whenever wine is offered him, but it does not follow that he commits a grievous sin unless he rushes out of his host's house whenever wine is upon the table.

In all these seven cases the "Provincial Letters" are clearly in the wrong at the tribunal of commonsense.

Next we have a couple of points where the Casuist decision is unjustly presented as an enormity because exact definition is omitted in a matter where exact definition makes all the difference.

Thus (1) if you say that a servant ought to help his master to do wrong you are obviously saying something immoral—and Pascal pretends that this was said. Nothing of the kind was said. The Casuist said that often the ser-

vant may be an innocent party to a wrong. There are many cases where the servant must carry out his contract of service to his master although the master *may* be doing wrong (and that is what Pascal quarrels with).

A servant in a country house posts the letters that are given to him without looking into the handwriting. From what he knows of the relations between the people concerned, one particular letter may well enough be an invitation to some politician to dip his dirty hand into the public purse. But that is not the servant's business. His duty is to post the letters. For Pascal this is an infamy ; but the sense of mankind will support the Casuist.

Again (2), when the Casuist says (as does Escobar) that the technical term *traditio* (that is, " treason " in killing) only applies to the killing of an unsuspecting person and not an armed opponent, the point cannot be taken unless one admits that a *technical* term is involved. The Casuist is not saying that only the killing of an unsuspecting person is wrong (which would be nonsense), but that such killing alone corresponds to the particular technical term *traditio.*

We next find no less than eleven points which are of no value in argument save through a trick. In these eleven points the Casuist decision is put forward by Pascal in such a form that its strict reasonableness is masked by a confusion between the particular and general application. When these eleven points are quoted in detail, the trick becomes apparent.

Thus (1) Escobar's decision in the obsolete point of sanctuary is held up to odium. Gregory XIV. denied the right of sanctuary to " assassins," and Escobar pointed out with perfect justice that " assassin " was a technical term meaning " a hired murderer," and that the Pope's Bull did not deny sanctuary to all murderers. The citation is a good example of the trick whereby the Casuist point is made to look grotesque, the technical word " assassin " having substituted for it a conversational use.

In the same way (2) the decision that in particular cases there is no *obligation* to give away superfluous wealth is really a play upon the word "obligation." The decision can only be made to look wrong by forgetting the prime quality of every Casuist decision, that it only applies to one particular case. The decision is not a general doctrine that the rich should not give alms, which would be a crude denial of Christian doctrine. It is a decision that there may be cases in which, even out of superfluity, there may not be a strict obligation to give alms.

Again (3), religious who abandoned their habit were subject to excommunication. But that is no reason why we should be offended at the necessarily numerous exceptions. If you say that a man is not excommunicate who has put on lay dress when he was occupied in some evil work, you are not approving of the evil work, nor of his disguise. What you are saying is that it does not fall into the particular category of an open renunciation of his habit which was envisaged in the decree of excommunication. So a soldier may be shot for desertion. If you say that his getting blind drunk is not desertion, you are not, therefore, excusing his drunkenness.

It is (4) not usury to accept a gift given you out of gratitude for a loan, if no profit was intended when the loan was granted. The decision is commonsense. But by a trick it may be made to look ridiculous. The critic says: "Ah, yes! You do not *call* it profit, but you know very well you were expecting it as a profit!" But the definition is rigid. If you "knew very well that you were expecting a gift," then it was usury. It is only in the particular case where a man does give you out of gratitude what you were *not* expecting that you are excused.

A very good instance of this kind of trick in Pascal is his play with a number of Casuist decisions (7 in all) on the duty of restoring ill-gotten goods. We are bound in justice to *restore* that which was not justly due to us: that which we have stolen or swindled other people out

of; or that which we got by violence. But we are not bound to *restore* that which we were given voluntarily and as a matter of contract, although the contract were in itself immoral.

The logical point is so obvious that it has only to be stated to be agreed with. But it is one in which it is singularly easy to muddy the waters and to create confusion in the reader's mind between the justice of the payment and the morality of the contract, and that is exactly what is done in the "Provincial Letters" in—as I have said—no less than seven quotations from Casuist decisions.

So much for the eleven quotations where the "Provincial Letters" rely, in order to provoke indignation, upon what I have called "a trick."

There are three points in which the "Provincial Letters" actually misquote. Of errors in detail, more than 200 have been tabulated in them by scholars, of suppression of context 100 more, but these are three examples of palpable textual error.

He says (1) that the Casuists repudiate the authority of the Fathers of the Church. The original text only affirms that a modern and recent Casuist decision is usually to be preferred to an old one, because the circumstances to which it applies will probably have changed in the interval—an obvious rule.

In the second case (2) Pascal misquotes a particular passage in the Casuist writer, Laymann. Laymann said that though in pure theory a confessor may give a probability he himself disagrees with, in *practice* he must not do so. Pascal falsely quotes it as a practical rule.

(3) In the third case he quotes a supposed decision of Palaus on the supposed right of a religious to disobey his superior, which, in the original, does not apply to a religious at all, but to ordinary relations of superior and inferior not bound by any vow of obedience.

Lastly, there are no less than 35 points in the

"Provincials" which deal with purely domestic Catholic matters: questions which cannot conceivably enter into the case made out from Pascal by non-Catholics against the Church.

On these 35 points Pascal may have been right or wrong. Sometimes, as in (1), (2), and (3), his view of "Attrition" and "Contrition" in the Sacrament of Penance, Catholics must disagree with him because he has been condemned. In other cases (as in (4), his denial of the doctrine *ascribed* to the Jesuists of Clermont that "Attrition" in confession need not be supernatural), we know that he was right and that they were wrong, for *their* proposition has been condemned.

It really does not concern the non-Catholic, and still less the anti-Catholic, one way or another whether (3, 5, 6) a triple papal decision (in favour of the continuity of abstinence from flesh meat in certain religious after their promotion to a bishopric) admitted exceptions or not. In what precise conditions (4, 7, 8) a priest might take a full honorarium for a Mass or not is an equally domestic question. So is (9 and 10) the advisability or the inadvisability of a general rule of daily Mass. Nor can it concern anyone but a Catholic to debate (11) the definition of sloth in sacramental affairs; or to discover (12, 13, 14) the degree in which distractions interfere with the hearing of Mass; or the proportion of a Mass that must be heard; or (16) the number of confessors that a man should have; or (17) when a confessor should enquire as to habits; or (18-25) what questions he should put in the confessional; or (26-27-28) under what conditions he must accept the penitent's statement; or what (29-30) exactly constitutes an ecclesiastical fast; whether (31) it is an exaggeration to say that the special value of the Sacrament of Penance is seen in the sufficiency of Attrition; or (32) what "intervals" in the love of God are to be noted; or (33) that some forms of envy may be venial; or that (34) a general confession may be advisable rather than a par-

ticular one in such and such circumstances; or (35) whether a confessor is bound to absolve on a probability.

In all this long list of 35 points which Pascal makes against certain Jesuit decisions there is nothing that concerns the quarrel between the Church and her opponents. Usually, as in the more general cases, Pascal shows in these details that curious blindness to common sense which warps his genius. Occasionally he supports what later proved the orthodox position. But all this set of purely Catholic questions is out of our field. They do not concern the use of the "Provincial Letters" as an instrument against the Catholic Church.

There remain exactly fourteen points of consequence.

One concerns Simony, one theft; no less than eight are mixed up with the then vexed question of the duel, and justifiable risk of homicide; one deals with the corruption of a judge; two with the virtue of truth—that is with the practice of equivocation—and one with usury.

Certain of the Casuists so favoured the moral habit of their time as to decide in favour of the duel (and other justifiable risk of homicide) under very special circumstances: (1) to save honour or fortune *when there was no other way*; or (2) so as not to live dishonoured. Or again (3), you have the interesting definition that a man who is not known to be refusing through piety, and who would be accused of cowardice, may at least go to the rendezvous and defend his life; or (4) to avoid a blow; (5) or being given the lie; or (6) on immediate provocation in the heat of a struggle; (7) or to prevent false witnesses; or (8) a false judgment—all this (except (6)) *when no other means whatsoever were available.*

But all these eight propositions have been condemned. And though Pascal was perfectly right in bringing them forward, he was quite wrong in presenting them as normal decisions, generally given, or as applying to ordinary circumstances.

Of the remaining six decisions, one special case of "occult compensation" and two upon equivocation are falsely put. They are put out of their context so as to appear, or at least so as to give a general impression of their being what, as a fact, they are not: hence the conception that they have been condemned at Rome.

The one as to theft was a very small technical point in connection with the doctrine of "Occult Compensation." This doctrine deserves exact definition.

It is commonsense that if you have an absolute right to a thing it is *yours*—and if you are wholly debarred from recovering it by any means whatever except secret means, then you have a right to use secret means. If a man is unjustly keeping your watch, which he has stolen, and you cannot get it from him by a legal process or by repeated demands, or even by violence, then you clearly have a right to go and take it from him in whatever way you can. It is not his, it is yours: your recovering it, even secretly, when all other means fail, cannot be a theft.

But the application of this fundamental principle to particular cases is exceedingly perilous, for the simple reason that the cases must be very rare (and at the same time very doubtful) where the right to the property is thus clear. It is still rarer to find the opportunity of legal or other redress *completely* absent.

The most perilous cases arise in the matter of insufficient payment. If it is absolutely certain that an insufficient payment has left a balance just as clearly your property as would be an object stolen from your person, then there must be conceivable special cases in which an underpaid man can obtain, even secretly, the balance due to him. In one decision, among all the thousands of Casuist, decisions, the view was taken that a servant *certainly* defrauded of his just wage through lack of freedom in his contract, could secretly take his master's goods to make up the difference. That proposition may still be

maintained and is maintained with justice. There was later condemned at Rome another very different proposition (which Pascal by his criticism *suggests* but which was *not* made and which, therefore, he can *not* quote), that a servant could judge for himself, in general, whether his wages were sufficient or no, and compensate himself secretly if he judged them inadequate.

Far more famous and affecting, especially in England, the reputation of the Jesuits, was the doctrine of equivocation. And here the "Provincial Letters" fall into a glaring case of that *suppressio veri* which is the worst form of lying. To read what Pascal says upon this doctrine one might imagine that the decisions on equivocation were decisions which allowed men to lie at random! Their real character was, of course—as anyone should know who deals with the matter at all, and as anyone pretending to any historical knowledge must be aware—of a totally different kind.

It was this :—

A general rule of Catholic morals is that one must always tell the truth. But other general rules of Catholic morals also are that one must defend human life and the integrity of one's country; that one must be loyal to an oath, or even to a solemn promise; that a priest must preserve the secret of the confessional; that a father must preserve his children's inheritance; that any man must, if he can, prevent a great public evil, such as famine or plague, etc., etc. Sometimes these two grave duties of truth-telling on the one side, and of keeping faith, or patriotism, or saving life, etc., on the other, come into conflict. There are occasions when, if you tell the truth in answer to a direct question, you imperil your country and cause it to be invaded, or when your answer may lead to the loss of human life, even that of a relative or parent, or when to tell the full and exact truth would be the betrayal of loyalty, or the breaking of an oath, or of a solemn promise.

Now we all know in practice how men, and perfectly good men too, solve the difficulty. They lie freely. Does any man defending his country furnish the enemy with exact details simply because he is asked for them?

But so strict are the morals of the Catholic Church that she will condemn so easy a solution. Her rule stands that a lie is always a lie, and always wrong.

How, then, is the difficulty to be solved? How was a confessor, for instance, put to the torture by Cecil in the reign of Elizabeth, to avoid telling a lie on the one hand, and betraying the secret of the Confessional on the other?

Since the Church had solemnly declared that a direct lie was always wrong, an effort was made to solve the difficulty by the use of forms which might, taken in the right sense, give a true answer, but which might also be taken in the wrong sense, and left at that. This was called "*equivocatio*," that is, "the use of equivalent words."

It was no full solution of the problem, because a falsehood consists not in the falsity of the impression you give, but in the falsity of the impression you desire to give. The ultimate decision of Rome forbade equivocation[1] when it involved a private reservation of meaning.

This specifically condemned form of equivocation, moreover, was not particularly Jesuit. It had been debated at length, and favourably, long before the Jesuit Order came into existence, and within the great Casuist authorities of that Order there were wide differences of opinion upon it. Azor, for instance, condemns instances which Sanchez allows. Of all this conflict Pascal allows you to hear nothing.

There remain of his citations exactly three, and three only, which are grave in matter yet undecided, and therefore afford some ground for the use of the "Provincial Letters" as a weapon against the Church: exactly three,

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[1] Here again we must of course distinguish between the modern English conversational use of the word "equivocation"—which means a shuffling lie—and the technical word.

and three only—out of the original 132—which an opponent of the Catholic Church might bring forward and say: "Some of your priests—the Jesuits—decided thus and thus. Pascal exposed them; your Church has not condemned them. What have you to reply?"

I.—There is first the point of Simony, which is important because it might easily open the door to grave abuses. This hardly concerns, strictly speaking, the non-Catholic, and should therefore perhaps be outside our controversy: but as a point in general morals it is one which many outsiders can appreciate, and which those of a stricter school would decide against the two Casuists whom Pascal quotes with so much indignation.

These two are Velencia and Tannerus. They both decided that the essential of Simony is not the mere passage of money but the giving or asking of a *price* (especially for a benefice) as the motive of the transaction.

This distinction between a strict "price" and the giving of money as a sort of honorarium, which might become a regular practice, is hardly tenable.

It would be sound morals, of course, as an accidental piece of gratitude. For instance: the patron of a living gives it to a poor man, who, through this piece of patronage, rises, let us say, to a great position in the Church or University. The patron himself becomes impoverished. The recipient of his kindness is grateful for it, and relieves his old patron. That is clearly not Simony. But if you go so far as to say that the essential of Simony is the *fixing* of a set *price*, and the making of that price the whole motive of the transaction, that opens the door to abuses.

II.—The second case deals with the passing of money or advantage between a judge and his client. Here Pascal quotes one decision (from Molina) to the effect that the judge may without sin and lawfully accept advantage from one of the parties to the suit, in three special cases:—(1) from Friendship, (2) from Gratitude for justice done, (3) for Promptitude.

(1) On the first case there would hardly be disagreement. It would be unwise and it would savour of the dishonourable for a judge to accept, within reasonable time of a suit, a present from a friend who happened also to be a suitor in his court. But it would be silly to say that Mr. Justice So and So must not accept a gift from some friend with whom he has often exchanged gifts in the past, simply because that friend may in the remote future be a suitor, or has in the remote past been a suitor.

It would be a question, as far as honour and wisdom are concerned, of the proximity of the suit and of the size of the present, but it must be clear that the present had for its motive friendship alone—there must be on neither side any other motive. Otherwise it would not fall under the decision.

(2) Gratitude for justice done is much nearer the wind. There is, of course, no question about an advantage given, even in gratitude, for a judgment other than just: doubtful, for instance, or actually unjust—that is always wrong. A just judgment is alone concerned. No doubt in pure theory a motive of gratitude may be present, and would not, in that case, especially if it were a rare occasion, be a breach of justice. But the tendency to be certain of one's own case, and the tendency of such things to become custom, are both too strong for the decision to pass unchallenged.

(3) The third case, that of promptitude, is on a different footing. It has been threshed out by casuists until it is threadbare. You have those who say that since no unjust advantage is conferred upon a man by his case being accelerated, a judge may, without actually sinning, receive payment, or its equivalent, for bringing on the case as early as possible. Others say that, on the contrary, you are thus distinctly doing a favour *qua* judge in distinguishing between suitors, to whom, if justice is to be done, the judge must be absolutely indifferent in *all* things, and that therefore the action is wrong.

A modern example will illustrate the difference between these two clauses.

A politician is very anxious to get a case, in which he is a witness or a suitor, settled before a particular date, when he has business of an important nature which will take him from town. A politician, of course, can make all the difference to a judge's career and to that of the judge's children and relatives. The politician meets the judge (whom he probably knows in private life, for most of our judges are also minor politicians), and says : " Look here ! They tell me that such and such a case which you are trying may last over to-morrow, in which case my business will not come on until Friday. I should have to stop in town for it, and that would throw out all my public plans. So and So, who is pleading before you, is very long-winded. Do you think you could give him a hint to cut it short and try and wind up the case so that mine may come up on Thursday ? "

One school says that there is no harm done. That is the school of Molina, and that is the school which Pascal denounces with such vigour. The other school says that the judge must rebuke the politician, and incur the indirect loss which will naturally follow from such action.

Remember we are not talking about honour or decent conduct, or wisdom or unwisdom : we are talking of strict moral definitions—absolute right and wrong. Everyone will agree that practices of this kind are near the line. The whole business of Casuistry is an attempt to decide on which side of the line they lie ; and this second of the only three significant cases in all the " Provincial Letters " is what is called a " laxist " decision, that is, a decision in favour of the laxer rather than the more rigorous practice.

III.—The third is the point of usury. There is indeed something comic in a modern enemy of the Catholic Church making a long face about a Casuist decision which sails rather near the wind in the matter of Usury. For

usury is taken for granted nowadays everywhere, save in the old strict Catholic definition, and even that is confused by the processes of modern commerce.

However, as the point is a point in general morals, it is worth going into. These Casuist cases on usury are two in number. (1) The first is easily decided by commonsense. Bauny, the Jesuit Casuist, decided, and decided quite rightly, that you are perfectly free to lend money to a man who is about to use it in business, taking part of the risk with him, profit if there is profit, and loss if there is loss. You may even, says Bauny, say to the man: "I will take a much smaller percentage of the profits, on condition that you relieve me of the risk of the loss." There must be a confusion in the mind of anyone who mixes that sort of thing up with usury. Usury is *the exacting of interest upon an admittedly unproductive loan.* That has nothing to do with a commercial venture.

(2) Escobar quotes the decision (in his compendium of Casuist decisions) that the contract called *Mohatra* was morally justified *if the prices paid were just,* and this excites the anger of Pascal. Pascal was probably right, and Escobar was probably wrong; but it is a more subtle point than people may imagine who use the "Provincial Letters" so familiarly in argument. I doubt if there is any man living in England to-day—of all those glibly quoting the name of Pascal against the Church—who could tell you what the *Mohatra* Contract was.

I will explain it.

Jewish usurers in Spain tried to get out of the laws against usury by a fictitious selling conducted in the following manner:—

The usurer went to the needy man and said: "Would you like to buy such and such an article off me [a piece of plate, for instance]? If so, I will give you credit and fix a credit price for it. You need not pay for it till six months hence, and the price at that date will be £120" The

needy man, whom the usurer was tempting, would say: "Very well," and sign the contract, promising to pay £120 for the plate six months after. The next step was for the usurer to say: "I am sorry I sold you that piece of plate. I want it back. Will you sell it to me for £100 down in cash now?" The needy man agrees, and receives £100. But as he did not originally pay for the article which has been taken back from him, he will still be owing £120, and at the end of the six months will have to pay. In effect the needy man has borrowed £100 at 40 per cent. The sale of plate was a fiction. But if the usurer were had up in the courts (and in Catholic times the offence of usury was punished severely), he was able to say: "I did no wrong! I sold this gentleman plate at my own risk." (To "purchase at a risk" is the meaning of the word *Mohatra*). "If I wanted to purchase it back, that was my own affair. I had special reasons."

Innocent XI. condemned the action as usurious, and the Courts of Justice in many times and places punished the offender severely when they caught him playing this trick. Escobar says, however, that *in pure theory* it is permissible (though not necessarily advisable or to be supported by the civil law) on condition that the price fixed was just in the one case for long credit, and in the other for cash payment. He says that it is an offence against charity if the person borrowing the money is really indigent, but not an offence against justice—which is, of course, the whole point of usury. He was very probably wrong, but I think the point has not been decided.

There, then, you have the "Provincial Letters" boiled down as they ought to be boiled down by anyone who treats them not as rhetoric or wit or as a literary exercise which may persuade unthinking people, but strictly as a presentation of evidence.

Let me summarise my analysis by way of conclusion.

Of the thousands of Casuist decisions arrived at by a vast number of professors, regular and secular, Pascal

chooses to speak only of the Jesuit decisions, as though theirs were the only ones, or at any rate the only blameworthy ones. Of the many thousand Jesuit decisions he selects what are in appearance even only 132, and in real numbers—if we exclude repetitions—only 89.

Of these 89, three are wrongly quoted (because Pascal was badly briefed). Many are put so that they suggest what the Casuist never said, to wit, that a special case in point was a general rule of morals. Many more are frivolous. Many more still are purely domestic controversy upon points of Catholic practice which cannot concern our opponents and in which they cannot pretend an active interest on Pascal's side or on the other.

There remain, when the whole list has been gone through, fourteen points, of which eight were, at one time or another, finally condemned at Rome, and which therefore cannot be brought up in accusation against the moral system of the Catholic Church; and three though not condemned can be and are, by Pascal's advocates' trick in the way he brings them in, capable of confusion with condemned propositions.

A just analysis leaves of the whole 132 exactly three points, one on Simony, one on the action of judges for a benefit, and one on Usury—all three of which are doubtful. This conclusion is dry and without savour. But it is exact.

H. Belloc.

# IRELAND'S STANDING IN AMERICA.

BY J. C. WALSH.

WHILE it would not be correct to say that the concerns of Ireland have been a major consideration in the politics of the United States in this election year, it can fairly be said that the influence of Ireland has been in some sense a decisive factor. When President Wilson came back from Europe with his peace treaty there was no very clear definition of opinion. The Republican leaders were disposed to be critical; but amongst their following there was a good deal of doubt, and this was very clearly reflected in the hesitating tactics which marked the first few months of argument. The one clear note of opposition came from those who believed Ireland had not been justly dealt with, and that opposition went directly to what Mr. Wilson insisted was the heart of the treaty, Article X of the League of Nations. Primarily, the objection was to the confirmation given by this article to England's title to Ireland, and that title was promptly and vehemently attacked. Every declaration that had been made by the President affirming the rights of small nations, every plea of his for the setting up of a new world order of which the touchstones were to be equal justice and government by consent of the governed, was employed, and with notable effect, in a flood of destructive criticism levelled against this provision. Gradually, other critics of the treaty found themselves concentrating their arguments against the same Article X, not, indeed, because of its implications towards Ireland, but because of its disruptive influence upon fundamental American conceptions of government and of permanent policy. Into a stagnated condition of public opinion

the advocates of justice to Ireland injected motion, and once they had demonstrated the potential of opposition, the Republican leaders took courage and themselves enlarged the scope of their criticism.

Before Christmas it was already apparent that there were great reservoirs of disillusionment and disappointment in popular feeling. Whatever may have been the opinions of the European contestants, the American people went into the war in support of the ideals of which President Wilson had made himself the interpreter and spokesman, and the proceedings at Paris convinced them that these ideals were, one after another, set aside and treated as of no importance. The President himself argued that he had saved the essential, but the average man was more than sceptical, and as the attacks made by the Republicans gained in boldness the response from the public became increasingly favourable. Mr. Wilson learned this at first hand when he made the speaking trip to the West which was brought to a tragic close by his physical collapse. By December the Republican managers felt themselves justified in believing that the elections of next November would go their way. By that date, also, they had already decided what manner of candidate they should have, and before the turn of the year it was already known that Senator Harding of Ohio was the candidate of their choice. I do not think it an over-statement, therefore, to say that the protest made on behalf of Ireland, which had already, in the November elections, produced some startling political changes, had shown the way, by December, to probable Republican victory this year, and to the choice of the candidate who now has the best chance of success.

The choice of Senator Harding, however, cannot be said to have been influenced, directly, by any great concern for Ireland. The motives impelling to that choice were, in the main, negative in character. The country was tired of being herded and regimented, and was

showing itself in the mood to get back to conditions in which the initiative of the individual would be given that scope which in this country is the normal. Mr. Roosevelt had introduced something closely resembling personal government. Mr. Wilson, possibly because he was confronted by special difficulties in the way of organizing the mass mentality for superlative effort, had become well nigh an autocrat. He was served by Mr. Hoover, who managed our food supply, by Mr. Burleson, who managed our supply of opinion, and by Mr. Gregory and Mr. Palmer, who submitted us to espionage and sorted us out in a way wholly objectionable even to those who tolerated it from patriotic motives. Now the reaction had set in, and people wanted no more personal government, no more autocrats, however greatly endowed, no more managers, nobody at all likely to tell them what they must do or what they might not do. Somebody to carry on the business of government and let people run their own affairs was what the times seemed to demand, and Senator Harding was believed to be that sort of man. That is why he was chosen, and that is why Senator Johnson and General Wood, joint heirs of Roosevelt, were put aside, as was Mr. Hoover, ablest and most approved of our managing organizers.

For Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party the difficulty about Ireland was a subject of immediate and continuous concern. The Democratic party is solidly based upon the support of the States which comprised the Southern Confederation, but that is not enough, of itself, ever to enable the party to reach power. In the Northern States where the party is occasionally successful, the friendly voting strength is in large part of Irish origin. True, ancient prejudice still survives to the degree that in Mr. Wilson's two terms he never had in his cabinet a representative of these friends without whose support he could not have reached the White House. But this neglect did not diminish their political importance, as was shown

when, in November of last year, the loss by the Democrats of elections in Massachusetts, New York and Kentucky was rightly ascribed to resentment over the cavalier treatment of Ireland at Paris and to the Irish campaign against Article X. Whatever may be Mr. Wilson's personal views regarding Ireland, it has been demonstrated that he has not been able to manifest them in public in such wise as to retain the support of his following in those Northern States which must be held if his party is to have a fighting chance for success. One consequence of this failure was that at the San Francisco convention he had to wage, through his selected agents, a losing fight against the local party managers in New York, Massachusetts and Illinois, themselves of Irish extraction, whose only hope of retaining even a majority of their following was to dispel the idea that Mr. Wilson continues in control. In this they succeeded, and it was they who compelled the nomination of Mr. Cox.

Those who are curious to know why recognition of the Irish Republic was asked at the hands of both party conventions, and why it was not accorded by either, may find the warrant for the request and an explanation of its not being granted, in this summary of the facts underlying their proceedings. The campaign in behalf of Ireland had profoundly influenced the prospects of both parties, and it was well to remind them of the fact, but the Republicans had gone far on the path of withdrawing from contact with Europe, and the Democrats, while they unhorsed Mr. Wilson from the party control, still had to recognize that a majority of the delegates adhered to his demand that the treaty, and especially the League, be given place as a leading platform issue. It was different with the Labour Party. There, the current of thought ran parallel with Irish aspiration, and there was no very formidable obstacle in the way of recognizing the " duly elected government of the Irish Republic," the more so as that new but mysterious entity " international finance " was held to be inimical to both.

There are suggestions, coming mostly from your side of the Atlantic, that this same "international finance" is itself conscious of the possibilities of disturbance inherent in the Irish situation, and that it is making an effort to produce in Ireland a period of quiescence which shall last until at least the elections here are over. What form the effort may take does not yet appear, but those who remember how well the Irish Convention served its purpose in the United States at a critical time will not be surprised at any development that may supervene. And it might be added that the history of that episode is still sufficiently familiar to invest any new adventure with so dense an atmosphere of distrust as to, probably, seriously disturb any calculations based upon the efficacy of whatever contrivance may be in contemplation.

What is certain is that the events of the past year have verified conclusively the statement I ventured to make last year in the pages of STUDIES,[1] that the idea of a republic, with which every American is familiar, would be a principal factor in stimulating American interest in the immediate problem of Irish welfare. I often recall the remark of a publisher, one day in June a year ago. "I had always," he said, "regarded the case of Ireland as an interesting subject, but one outside my purview. I have, no doubt, my own idea concerning what ought to be done about it, but must say I have never felt called upon to urge my opinions upon others for their acceptance. But when a man steps into New York and announces himself as the President of the Irish Republic, one is compelled to sit up and take notice." If that were true of an outsider, it should not be difficult to imagine what has been the reaction of Irish born and descendants of Irishmen whose lives conform to the political conceptions of the oldest and greatest republic. That is what accounts, in large part, for the success of the Irish loan, supplemented, of course, by the acts of

[1] June, 1919.

military menace daily reported in the newspapers, and reinforced by the numerous evidences that the Irish people have been progressively successful in taking the realities of government into their own control. Taken together, these influences have assured the success of the loan. Figures are not available as to the aggregate, as the trustees of the fund very properly keep that information to themselves, but it is known that of the ten millions (dollars) asked for, Massachusetts alone subscribed rather better than a million and a half, and that averages of subscription have been pretty uniformly maintained. Both in number and amount the subscriptions have attained proportions never before dreamed of in connection with support of the Irish effort for freedom. Indeed, those who have been longest associated with the Irish cause in America, and who may have been on that account influenced by the memory of earlier disappointments, as they were at the beginning the most apprehensive of failure, are now the most open in their admiration at the magnitude of the success. And it need surprise no one if the lifting of the cause out of the atmosphere of failure and into an atmosphere of success has produced an appreciable elation in the minds of all (and they number many hundreds of thousands) who have made the achievement possible.

It is well here to note, however, certain qualifications. It is not, for example, the notably successful Irish Americans who have done what has been done. They, for the most part, still hold aloof. They have succeeded as Americans, many of them despite the handicap of being Irish, and they are not disposed to imperil (as they think) their success. Events have not reached them yet. They offer an example of the fact that seed sown on one's own farm does not necessarily grow in one's neighbour's field. In the main the Irish American of the third or fourth generation must find his way to Ireland through the American door, and not for all of them has that door

yet been opened. That it is ajar, however, is sufficiently indicated by the fact that many of the most successful meetings held of late have been addressed by men who have no Irish blood whatever, whose genealogy runs rather to Lexington and Bunker Hill, and whose platform success is mainly due to their identification of Irish aspiration with American ideal. One sees whither support of that sort inevitably leads. If continued and enlarged, it means a conviction of the necessity of justice and freedom for Ireland in the minds of the American people, a conviction which will automatically determine the action of legislatures and statesmen.

It was worth while to note the attitude of one of the minor Chicago Conventions when listening, the other day, to an address by Mr. De Valera. Those present were all of the advanced school of intellectuals, men and women of a highly critical turn ; they were there, in fact, because of their criticism of what they consider reactionary in the old parties. What they heard was a calm, dispassionate argument, with no emphasis on old wrongs, a closely reasoned plea for participation by Irish men and women in the fundamentals of freedom. So far from being treated as an importunate propagandist talking of exotic concerns, the speaker was received as if he were one of themselves, and his subject matter was weighed as if it were a definite part of their own field of endeavour. Is it any wonder if he announced, almost immediately afterwards, that having enlisted the sympathy of the generality of Americans, the next task was to conquer their intellectual approval ?

Facts such as these have to be weighed when, as happens occasionally, much is made in unfriendly quarters of differences which arise between Mr. De Valera and certain of the recognized leaders of Irish opinion in America. It were better, no doubt, that such differences did not exist, and it is not always easy to see why they should. Still, there may well be an explanation, did one

but know where to seek it, which might mitigate the inference that failure to see eye to eye has the destructive tendency ascribed to it. If I might hazard an opinion, it would be that these divergences of view follow from the fact that Mr. De Valera addresses himself to the whole American people as the accredited spokesman of Ireland, one charged, moreover, with a definite mission which he cannot delegate wholly to others ; whereas, amongst those who are American citizens, however notable may be their services to Ireland, there may be some whose field of action is circumscribed by the necessity of directing their activities to those fields of American endeavour in which their capacity has been demonstrated by the whole course of their careers. That such men should consider themselves capable of procuring results by following methods different from those which Mr. De Valera feels to be prescribed for him, need not be considered unnatural. The mass of Ireland's friends pray that there might be, if not assimilation, at least co-ordination ; but attainment of either, it is recognized, is apt to be influenced, at least partly, by temperament and circumstances. Manifestations of what has been called " the fissiparous tendency of Irish politics in America," are always accompanied by incidents in which the judicious find cause for regret, and the present instance does not afford an exception. The principal ill effect of this is that it tends to keep away from the movement many whose services might be valuable. It is to be remembered, too, that the difference between the Irish and the American environment counts for something. Here it is easy to maintain, without interruption, the conviction that, for Ireland, nothing good can come out of England. History seems to show that in Ireland judgment, circumstances, interest, and perhaps juxtaposition, occasionally make a different attitude appear admissible, even though its dangers are recognized. I suspect that this difference might be found at the bottom of much that would otherwise be unexplainable.

Nevertheless, if, as a friend of mine once remarked, the important thing for Ireland is to have a good gallery in America, certain it is that never has there been so good a gallery as now. Interest in any differences there may be is, so far, confined to a small number. The great mass are moved by admiration of Ireland's own accomplishment. That transcends in interest and importance all other considerations whatsoever. After all we know only one Ireland, and we see it whole. Your own wisdom and steadfastness are what count. That is the test and nothing else really matters. In testimony whereof, you have the universal welcome to your spokesman and advocate, you have the success of the loan, you have, as the picketing incidents showed, a sensitive, watchful appreciation of your daily danger, you have the declared good will of legislatures and officers of State, you have Senator Harding on record as friendly to Irish independence, you have his opponent reputed to be of the same mind and sponsored by men who undoubtedly are, you have the Farmer-Labor party flatly on record, you have "international finance" confessedly anxious, and you have a steadily rising tide of support from Americans who before hardly gave a thought to Ireland. America wants, just now, to get away from European imperialism, and she recognizes more clearly every day that Ireland is the particular victim of that obsession and so, with something far removed from perfunctory sympathy, is casting about for the means by which she may be safely delivered out of it. Whatever may be the emotion excited nearer to you by Sir Edward Carson's statement that in three quarters of Ireland the English Government has been defeated, here in the United States the statement will be accepted as a certificate of Irish capacity and as a warrant for supporting Ireland in maintaining her gain. There never was any question here that Irish aspirations ought to triumph, and the admission that what was always desirable has now become actual will strongly confirm the original opinion.

New York, July 26, 1920. J. C. Walsh.

# THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION OF INDUSTRY.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D.

ONE of the traditional assumptions of American industrial life is that almost all, if not all, of the workers may confidently hope to become business men. When we speak of America as the "land of opportunity," we mean not merely that our country offers to the masses greater opportunities than do other lands, but also that our industrial conditions are such that the great majority may rise from the lower social and industrial levels and become in some measure directors of industry. The theory is that almost all men who work hard and save their money have a genuine opportunity of becoming economically independent, as factory owners, storekeepers, farmers, bankers, or as the owners and directors of some other kind of business. Until quite recently, most of us have assumed that very few working men need remain wage-earners all their lives.

When the late John Mitchel declared a few years ago that 90 per cent. of American wage-earners had no expectation of ever becoming anything else, his statement was denounced by many of our newspapers as un-American. Yet all who know the facts of our industrial system, and who are willing to look the facts in the face, are aware that he spoke the simple truth. We know that in urban industries the overwhelming majority of the workers must remain wage-earners during all their working days.

The first reason is that the industrial unit, the single business enterprise, has become so large that the total number of business concerns is far too small to permit the majority of the working population to become individual owners. A complementary reason is found in the fact that the typical industrial unit is too costly to be owned by a single individual. Therefore, the supply of business concerns is far too small to go around, and the amount of capital required for the larger business enterprises is so great that only an insignificant fraction of the wage-earners can ever hope to accumulate that amount of capital. Even in rural life substantially the same condition exists. Although the typical farm has not grown in size, as is the case with the typical industrial concern in the city, the cost of acquiring a farm has vastly increased. There are no more farms to be had merely by pre-empting them, or by paying for them at the rate of $1.25 an acre. Even the difficulty of becoming a tenant farmer has increased, owing to the greater amount of capital, especially in the form of machinery, which is required to operate a farm. On the one hand, it is becoming more and more difficult for a tenant farmer to become a farm owner ; on the other hand, for a farm labourer to become even a tenant farmer is almost impossible.

The general situation, therefore, is that the vast majority of men who begin life as employees must resign themselves to dependence upon wages or salaries for their livelihood until the end of their working days. And the complement of this situation is that, so far at least as urban industry is concerned, the functions of ownership and direction are performed by a small minority. The users of the tools of production form one class ; the owners of the tools of production form another class.

This is industrial autocracy, or, at best, industrial feudalism. Nevertheless it is frankly and cheerfully accepted by the majority of our great captains of industry. Indeed, a large proportion of men in the pro-

fessions and of our newspapers seem to see in this industrial system nothing abnormal or undesirable. It is true that the autocratic element in the system varies to some extent in the minds of the great employers. The more despotic of them would like to fix wages and all other conditions of employment according to their own pleasure. These do not believe that employees should enjoy even that modicum of control which is exercised by a strong labour union. They would have their industrial reign unmodified and unlimited. A less autocratic and more benevolent group of employers would permit labour unions to exist and to carry on the process of collective bargaining. Moreover, they would admit that the workers should enjoy a minimum of decent and humane conditions of labour and of living. Nevertheless both these classes of capitalists reject the theory that the wage-earners should have any share in the management of industry, in its surplus profits, or in ownership of the tools of production. Both varieties of the doctrine of industrial autocracy assume that the functions of management, profit-taking and ownership belong to the few, and that the mass of the wage-earners should have the status of a dependent and directed class. In other words, the great majority of the captains of industry accept and welcome the Servile State.

The fundamental defect of such an industrial condition is that the diversity of interests between capital and labour is too strongly emphasized, while their community of interests is minimised or ignored. In this condition the workers have no adequate incentive to turn out a reasonable amount of product. Indeed, large groups of them may find it profitable to reduce their industrial output. This situation is un-American, inefficient, opposed to the social good and directly conducive to agitation for Socialism.

It is un-American, because it is contrary to the American industrial tradition, to the Democratic genius of

America, and because it means a denial of that distribution of opportunity which has always been associated with the history of America.

It is inefficient, because it keeps the two great industrial classes in a state of continual conflict. The interests of capital and those of labour are in part common, and in part mutually opposed. They are common, inasmuch as both factors should desire the largest possible product in order that the share of each may be increased to the highest degree. Their interests are mutually opposed as regards the division of the product, and to a great extent as regards the length of the working day, and the provision of safe, sanitary and pleasant conditions in the workshop. As our industrial system is now operated, the attention of the workers is concentrated almost entirely upon the division of the product rather than upon its maximum amount. At any given time and place the amount of wages that labour is able to secure depends only slightly and remotely upon the size of the product. Practically, it depends almost entirely upon the share of the product that labour can secure by means of a bargain made at the present moment. In a word, the attitude of the workers toward the size of the product is exactly opposite to that of the employers. The share of the latter is directly determined by, and dependent upon the amount of product that will be finally turned out, while the share of the workers is directly determined (except where the piecework system prevails) on the basis of time, without any reference to the product out of which wages are to come. When he makes a bargain for wages on this basis, the worker assumes that somehow the product will be large enough to provide the compensation agreed upon. He has no serious fear that his wages will not be forthcoming if he fails to perform a reasonable amount of daily labour. His demands for shorter hours and better working conditions are likewise unaffected by any apprehension concerning the bad effect

which the satisfaction of these demands might have upon the total amount of product.

It is not the fact of opposition between the interests of the two classes that is of importance; for there is opposition between the interests of many other economic classes, and yet these other classes are able to co-operate without undue friction for their common benefit. The diversity of interests between the housewife and the corner grocer are outweighed by their community of interests. Therefore, neither of them desires the removal of the other. The evil feature of the present relation between capital and labour is that their mutual diversity of interests occupies the attention of both almost exclusively, or at any rate to the great detriment of those interests which they have in common. It is quite easy, indeed, to prove that this disregard of the problem of a sufficient product must prove harmful to labour in general, and in "the long run." Such proof, however, leaves the labourer unmoved and practically unconvinced. Like the rest of us, he is not deeply concerned about "the long run." His vision takes in only the present and the immediate future, and he knows that during this "short-run" period the size of the product will have very little influence in determining either the rate of his wages or the other conditions of his employment. The sum of the matter, then, is that the attention of the labourer is directed almost entirely to his portion of the product, and only slightly, if at all, to the size of the total product. Therefore, he places practically all the emphasis upon that part of his interests which are opposed to the interests of capital. And capital naturally fights back and in turn stresses the diversity of interests between itself and labour.

The present arrangement is injurious to the social good because it tends directly to a diminished product and to industrial friction which interferes with the satisfaction of social wants. It is futile for well-meaning members of

the public, the so-called third class or third element in the industrial community, to strive to remedy the situation by moral exhortation. To urge upon the worker the duty of performing a fair day's labour in return for a fair day's pay, will have only feeble efficacy. Even the more conscientious wage-earners believe at present that a diminished daily output constitutes a fair day's work in view of the enormous profits obtained by the employer.

The emphasis now laid upon the opposing interests of capital and labour, and the very general conviction among the wage-earners that they must constantly and continuously fight the employer in order to obtain what they regard as a fair share of the product, tends directly to promote the doctrines and spirit of Socialism ; for it keeps in the foreground what is perhaps the most powerful of all the theories of Socialism, namely, the doctrine of class conflict. Thousands and thousands of workers who are not yet Socialists are drawn insensibly toward the Socialist philosophy and the Socialist movement by their conviction that the capitalist is a constant obstacle to their endeavour to obtain what they regard as the full product of their labour. Gradually the capitalist appears in the minds of such men as an unnecessary factor in the industrial system. From this position to the position of Socialism the transition is easy.

It is evident that there can be only one fundamental remedy for this evil situation. The remedy must be such that it will exactly apply to the evil. As we have just seen, the great evil of present industrial relations is the fact that the diversity of interests of capital and labour are magnified in the minds of both parties, while their common interests are minimized or ignored. Therefore, some way must be found to enable and compel both labour and capital to place greater stress upon their common interests. The direct and obvious way is to put labour in such a position that it will participate in the benefits of ownership. After all, the traditional American philosophy is

fundamentally sound. The majority of men should be given the opportunity to become directors of industry. It is true that each cannot hope to become the sole owner and manager of a business, inasmuch as the number of business concerns is too small, and the cost of purchasing them too great. That feature of the traditional theory must be abandoned, at least with reference to urban industries. Nevertheless the essential elements of the theory are still practicable. It is still possible for the majority to become business men. The method by which this can be achieved is industrial co-operation. And the process will necessarily be gradual.

When we analyse the position and functions of the business man, we find that it includes three fairly distinct and very important advantages. The first is the direction of industrial operations; the second is the possibility of obtaining indefinitely large gains as the reward of hard work and industrial efficiency; the third is the consciousness of independence, security and self-respect, and the possession of a degree of social and political power which the propertyless man, other things being equal, can never hope to obtain.

Now it is still possible for the majority of wage-earners to secure for themselves by gradual processes all three of these advantages. The first, namely, direction of industrial operations, can be obtained through the method of labour participation in management. It is not necessary here to describe in detail the full meaning and implications of this phrase. We have heard a great deal about it during the last three years, enough to enable us to grasp its main outlines. In general, it means that through their representatives the workers in an establishment should have something to say about the industrial side of the management; for example, concerning wages, hours, shop conditions, shop discipline, disposition of the employees, application of shop rules, working agreements, welfare activity, shortage of work, installing of new machinery,

improvement of industrial processes and organization, apprentices, industrial experiments and scientific management. The general principle is, that the workers should take part in all those phases of industrial management which concern them directly, and about which they have some knowledge to contribute. By these means the wage-earners will be enabled to exercise to some degree the desire which they share with all other human beings, the desire to exercise some control over the material conditions in which they live and work. They will obtain the opportunity to exercise their directive faculties, as well as their obedient faculties, and to become something more than dependent instruments of production. It is not a good thing, either for the workers themselves or for society, to permit these directive faculties to become atrophied.

In a word, participation in management will introduce the worker to the first of the advantages of the business man, will make him vastly more interested both in his task and in the establishment in which he works, will convince him that he has more in common with the employer than he had ever previously thought, and therefore will induce him to turn out a larger product.

The second element in the position of the employer, namely, the hope of obtaining indefinitely large gains as the reward of efficiency and success, can be brought within the reach of the wage-earners through profit-sharing. In a sense this second advantage of the business man may be regarded as the most vital element in the system of private capital and industry. The business man is not restricted, at least in competitive industries, to any fixed per cent. or amount of profit. The theory is that when men enter into intensive competition with one another, attracted by the lure of indefinite gains, their energy and inventiveness will be aroused to such an extent that they will find and apply new methods of production and of labour organization, with the result that the cost of production will be constantly lowered.

In this way the whole community will be benefited. Until competition became so widely supplanted by combination, this theory was verified in practice. To the extent that competition prevails, and will continue to prevail in industry, the theory is sound. Now the method of profit-sharing by the employees simply extends this general principle of indefinite gains to the wage-earning classes. If it is desirable to permit the directors of industry to obtain indefinitely large gains as a result of hard work and efficiency, why is it not equally desirable to hold out this hope to the rank and file of the workers ? At any rate, so far as the principle of the thing is concerned, its wisdom seems to be beyond controversy.

Profit-sharing gives to the workers, in addition to their wages, a part of the *surplus* profits. So long as the regime of private capital obtains, the owners of capital will have to be assured the prevailing rate of interest. Therefore, it is not feasible to give any part of the profits of a concern to the workers until the owners of capital have obtained this prevailing rate. If 6 per cent., for example, is the rate of interest that can generally be obtained on investments of normal security, then the owners of the capital in a concern should be guaranteed that amount before the process of profit-sharing is put into operation. After that, and after all other expenses of the business have been paid, including wages, what remains, the surplus profits, should be divided among the wage-earners, the management and the owners of capital in some definite proportion.

Most of the profit-sharing schemes in the United States have either failed entirely or accomplished very little. The principal reasons were that they were not undertaken in good faith. Some of them were designed to keep the workers out of labour unions ; others to serve as a substitute for reasonable wages, while most of those that were honestly undertaken gave to the workers such insignificant sums that they did not stimulate either efficiency or good-

will. Any profit-sharing plan that is to be a success must not antagonise labour unions, nor be a substitute for standard wages. On the other hand, it must provide for complete frankness and publicity as regards the amount of profits actually available, and must give to the workers a larger share of the surplus than has been customary in the great majority of profit-sharing schemes heretofore.

It has been stated above that a part of the surplus profits should go to the owners of capital. Undoubtedly that will be the only possible arrangement for many years to come. Nevertheless, it is not ideal and it is not scientific. The owners of capital who perform no work in the operation of a business, as the vast majority of the stockholders in a corporation, ought to be restricted to the prevailing rate of interest on their capital. Why should they receive any part of a surplus, to the production of which they have contributed neither time nor thought nor labour? No one proposes that the bond holders of a corporation should share in the surplus profits. With the exception of the Board of Directors, executive officers, and a few others, the stockholders, so far as labour is concerned, are in exactly the same position as the bond holders. If matters are so arranged that they are certain to receive the prevailing rate of interest each year, and if a sufficient reserve is set aside to protect them against losses through the failure of the concern, they are receiving all that seems to be fair and all that is necessary to induce men to invest their money in a concern of this sort. Therefore, the surplus profits should all be distributed among those who perform any function in the industry, from the president of the company down to the office boy. And the distribution should be in proportion to their respective salaries and wages.

The advantages of this arrangement would be to give to the workers that interest in the industry which is created by the hope of profits dependent upon their own diligence and efficiency, and to provide the community

with a larger product. The project is evidently rational and scientific in the highest degree.

The third element in the position of the business man is the possession of personal security and social power. These are derived from ownership itself. As we have already seen, it is no longer possible for the majority of workers in urban industries to become each the owner of an individual business. But they can become individual owners through co-operation. The history and experience of the co-operative movement throughout the world, especially in Europe, shows that the workers are capable of co-operatively owning and managing stores, banks, factories, and a great variety of other business concerns. While they have been less successful in the field of production than in that of merchandizing and banking, there is no inherent reason why they should not carry on productive concerns. The difficulties are greater in the latter province, but they are not insuperable.

Co-operative ownership and management would end the unnatural divorce that now exists between the owners of capital on the one hand and the users of it on the other. It would be the most effective obstacle to and preventive of Socialism. The instinct which urges men into the Socialist movement is entirely natural, for it is based upon the fundamental fact that in a democratic society men will not be content to be mere executers of the orders issued by feudal lords of industry. This instinct can be satisfied to a greater degree and in a much more beneficial way for society through co-operation than through Socialism. In co-operative ownership each person is the owner of a definite amount of property which he holds exclusively, and not merely as a member of society. The difference between the two forms of ownership is the difference between a man's proprietorship of his front lawn and his interest in a public park. Through co-operative ownership and production the workers would be compelled to develop their own powers of self-control and management,

instead of trusting to a mere social and industrial mechanism. They individually and collectively would have to bear the responsibility for the success or failure of a co-operative enterprise. The influence of this condition in contributing to the development of the individual is obvious. A society in which the majority of the workers were owners of capital, as well as wage-earners, would be an infinitely more progressive and more enlightened society than either Socialism or modern capitalism.

The problem of bringing to the landless agricultural workers the advantages of ownership has two principal aspects. One concerns the tenant farmers, the other the rural wage-earners. Even now the former class occupy the position of business men; for they own a certain amount of capital and direct its operations. The only thing wanting to make them business men in the complete sense of that phrase as it applies to agriculture is ownership of land. During the last quarter of a century tenant farmers have increased so much more rapidly than farm proprietors, that tenancy is universally recognized as one of the gravest of our social problems. The solution of it will require many different methods. Chief among these are land banks and other credit institutions which will enable the tenants to borrow money for the purchase of land on much more easy terms than are now available; and probably certain drastic changes in our laws of taxation, such as an extra heavy tax on agricultural land which is operated by others than the owners or their near relatives. The problem of enabling the agricultural labourer to become a business man is even more difficult. However, it is not insoluble. One means is to provide him with a house and a small plot of ground, so that he will have a fixed interest in the community, and be in a position to marry and lead a normal human life. Through the land banks and credit institutions mentioned above, the transition from this position to that of tenant farmer, and even to that of farm owner, would not be excessively

difficult for those who possess a fair amount of energy and of willingness to do hard work.

From the viewpoint of transforming the wage-earner into a business man, the situation in agriculture is much more satisfactory than in urban industry. In the former the economic unit of business operation is still small and probably will always remain small. Therefore, it is possible for the individual to own and manage a farming business by himself, or at any rate with only slight co-operation with other farmers. The problem of co-operation in ownership does not exist, but co-operation in marketing and in purchasing is, of course, desirable and very beneficial.

Our industrial system as now constituted is well-nigh bankrupt. It is fast becoming an industrial feudalism, and the day of feudalism, whether in politics or in industry, has gone by forever. There are only two conceivable alternatives: one is Socialism; the other is co-operative control and ownership by the workers of the greater part of industry. Reforms which will merely better the conditions of life and labour of the wage-earner, leaving him in his present position of entire industrial dependence, with no participation either in management, profits or ownership, will have no permanent value. What the worker needs is a change of status. In the days of slavery there were many masters who gave to their slaves all the advantages of humane living except economic freedom. Yet that status was not normal, and was not satisfactory. The status of industrial dependence cannot endure permanently no matter how well off the worker may be in the material conditions of existence.

The modifications in our industrial system which have been described and defended in this paper are in thorough harmony with the traditional social doctrines and social practice of the Catholic Church. When the Church exercised her greatest social power, the majority of the

workers, both in the towns and in the rural regions, were owners of the instruments of production, and to a great extent of the land. This is the goal toward which the Catholic doctrine of private property points, and always has pointed. Capitalism as we now have it is not the fruit of Catholic social doctrine or practice, but of contrary doctrines which came into vogue only after the Protestant Reformation. One of the most discouraging facts of our time is the widespread acceptance of the present industrial system as the only possible arrangement, and the refusal to believe that the masses of the workers are capable of becoming anything else than hewers of wood and drawers of water—animated instruments of production. For this deplorable assumption, this pessimistic social outlook, the Catholic Church is nowise responsible.

Undoubtedly the changes called for in the foregoing pages must be brought about gradually. The element of time is not important. What is important is to recognize that some such changes are indispensable and inevitable. When our society recognizes this fact and becomes permeated with this spirit, the problem of ways and means of effecting the change will become comparatively simple.

There was a time when men believed that only a few persons, the supermen of that day, were capable of managing political government. That belief no longer survives. Its counterpart in the world of industry, the theory that the functions of owning and directing economic institutions must be performed by a few supermen, is equally false and equally doomed to disappear.

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# PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE.

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## Part III.[1]

IN our previous articles we have endeavoured to show that a knowledge of the customs connected with the land and its products in present-day Palestine may help us to a fuller understanding of the truth and meaning of our Sacred Books. We shall now, with the same end in view, turn our attention to Palestinian domestic customs, confining ourselves for the present to those which concern the two most important events of family life—births and marriages. Where a patriarchal and primitive mode of existence prevails, as in ancient Israel and modern Palestine, these events have far greater significance than in a more advanced stage of civilisation. This is an additional reason for expecting to find them associated in the east with many observances that are beyond the range of our personal experience.

Children, especially sons, are greatly desired in modern Palestine, and a prominent vice of our boasted culture is conspicuous by its absence. The power of a family depends on the number of voices it can count in the village assembly and the number of warriors it can muster against attack. Every man desires to build himself a house and thus gain importance in the clan. In the Semitic languages, in ancient Hebrew as well as in modern

[1] For Parts I. and II. see the issues of September (1919) and March (1920).

Arabic, the words for son and daughter and the verb meaning to build a house belong to the same root. A knowledge of this helps us to understand the sequence of thought in the seventh chapter of the second book of Samuel. David resolves to build a house to the Lord—the great temple afterwards erected by Solomon—and Almighty God in return announces to him through the prophet Nathan that He, the Lord, will build a house to David, which will endure for ever.[1] The promise was fulfilled in Christ, the Eternal King, of David's royal line.

Sons are invariably preferred to daughters, because they contribute most to the influence and defence of the family and the clan. If you ask a Palestinian peasant how many children he has, he will not include the daughters in his reply. It is not a question of affection but of social influence in the struggle for life. "Cursed be the man," said Jeremias in his affliction, "that brought the good-tidings to my father, saying: A man-child is born to thee: and made him greatly rejoice."[2] The birth of a son at the present day is announced by the word "Bshara," good-tidings; and the musicians waiting at the door strike up at once when they hear the news. We are reminded of the songs of the angels recorded by St. Luke at the birth of Christ and the words addressed to the shepherds: "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy that shall be to all the people. For this day is born to you a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David."[3] As the angel spoke in Palestinian Aramaic, he used the word *basser* to announce the good news of Christ's birth, just as the Hebrew *bisser* was used to announce that of Jeremias in the passage cited above. St. Luke's Greek rendering has given us Evangelium, the exact equivalent of the Arabic word, *bshara*, by which the good news of a son's birth is still proclaimed in Palestine.

Girls are little desired in the east, and the musicians

[1] 2 Sam. vii. 11 sq., 27 sq. [2] Jer. xx. 15. [3] Luke ii. 10-11, 13.

generally slink away without playing when they hear that the new-comer is a daughter. The form of the announcement in this case, "Blessed be the bride," is meant to afford some consolation to the father by referring to the time when the child will be profitable through the purchase-money she brings him by marriage. The husband in modern as in ancient times has to purchase his wife from the father, a fact which, according to some commentators, explains the well-known passage of the Book of Proverbs: "Many daughters have gathered together riches."[1] Yet many daughters are not welcomed, and dissatisfaction at a succession of them is sometimes manifested by the melancholy name, Kafaf (enough), which the unwanted child has to bear through life. A common form of congratulation at the birth of a son, "Blessed be what is come to thee," reminds us of the words of St. Elizabeth to our Blessed Lady, "Blessed is the fruit of thy womb."[2] The Bedouins have a custom of sacrificing a sheep or a goat at the birth of a boy, not unlike the Levitical ordinance to offer in holocaust a lamb of a year old on a like occasion.[3]

The new-born infant is washed in warm water and well rubbed with salt and oil by the Palestinian peasants. The rubbing is said to strengthen the child, and is repeated on the seventh day or even daily for the first week. Indeed it sometimes happens that the eyes are seriously injured by the salt. The infant is moreover wrapped in swaddling-clothes, as was Our Divine Lord after his birth. The swaddling clothes consist of a tiny shirt, a cap, a cotton coat, and over these a long strip of calico wound tightly several times around body, legs and arms to ensure rigidity and straightness. Over this again a large square of print or similar stuff is tightly secured. The child

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[1] Prov. xxxi. 29. Similarly in Arabia the pre-Islamic poet A'sha repaid a poverty-stricken benefactor by a panegyric which enabled him at once to get husbands for his three unmarried daughters and thus become rich.

[2] Luke i. 42. [3] Lev. xii. 6.

is kept thus "cribbed, cabined and confined" for two or three months, and even longer if it be weak. Perhaps we can now realise better what discomfort and humiliation being wrapped in swaddling-clothes meant to Our Divine Lord and find a deeper meaning in the words of the angel to the shepherds: "And this shall be a sign unto you. You shall find the infant wrapped in swaddling-clothes and laid in a manger."[1] The following passage of the prophet Ezechiel implies that all these modern usages existed in his day and that they were intended to secure the health of the child; for he ascribes metaphorically to a neglect of them the moral weakness of the Jewish nation. "And when thou wast born in the day of thy nativity . . . thou wast not washed with water nor salted with salt nor swaddled with clouts."[2]

Children in Palestine are rarely weaned before they are two years old, sometimes even, especially in the case of boys, not before they are three or four. Such was the custom in ancient Israel as we learn from the heroic mother of the Macchabees—"My son, have pity on me that bore thee nine months in my womb and gave thee suck three years."[3] We can thus understand how Samuel might dispense with his mother's care and begin his service at the sanctuary after being weaned,[4] or how the still unweaned child "may play on the hole of the asp"[5] or offer perfect praise to the Lord.[6]

The natural result of the universal desire to build a house in modern Palestine is that marriage is greatly desired and that a bachelor or an old maid is a *rara avis*. Similarly in the Old Testament the daughter of Jephte, when about to be immolated by her father in fulfilment of his vow, made the following petition: "Let me go that I may go about the mountains for two months and may bewail my virginity with my companions."[7] A note on this passage in our English version of the Vulgate

[1] Luke ii. 12. [2] Ezechiel xvi. 4. [3] 2 Mac. vii. 27. [4] 1 Sam. i. 24. [5] Isaias xi. 8. [6] Ps. viii. 3. [7] Jud. xi. 37.

states that the motive for not esteeming virginity under the Old Testament was the possible hope of each Hebrew woman that from some child of hers the Saviour of the world might one day spring. While granting this for individual cases, we can find a reason of more universal application. The idea of a large family and numerous descendants as a reward for piety was too consonant with Hebrew character and social conditions to allow a virtue to be appreciated which was reserved for the higher perfection of the New Law.

The marriage age in Palestine usually begins at fourteen for the youth and twelve for the maiden. An unmarried daughter of over twenty would be, in the language of St. Paul, *superadulta*.[1] The contract is entirely arranged by the parents or other near relatives, nor have the two most interested any say in the matter, or even in many cases any knowledge of it, until the arrangements are finally concluded. Among Christians the priest has often great difficulty in securing the requisite amount of liberty for the future bride. St. Paul apparently assumes as within the father's province the disposal or not of his daughter in marriage.[2] For this he is sometimes unjustly criticised in modern days. Preacher of the Gospel of Christ rather than of social reform, when he treats of marriage and virginity he naturally adapts his language to the social customs of his time.

Marriage alliances in the east are generally made within the circle of the village or kinsfolk. As in ancient times near relatives have the first claim on a maiden's hand, and marriages between first cousins are very common nor are they productive of evil results, as so frequently happens elsewhere. Thus Isaac married his cousin, Rebecca,[3] and Jacob his two first cousins, Rachel and Leah.[4] An uncle may not marry his niece, but is still allowed in many places to marry his half-niece. Similarly Abraham justified his marriage with his niece,

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 36. [2] *Ib.* vv. 36-38. [3] Gen. xxiv. [4] Gen. xxix.

Sara, by explaining that she was descended not from his own mother but from his father's second wife.[1] Marriage with a stranger is disapproved of, as it tends to weaken the clan, leading to quarrels and complications where feuds between villages and village factions are of frequent occurrence. Abraham made Eliezer swear not to take a Canaanite wife for his son.[2] Rebecca was "weary of her life" because of Esau's two Hittite wives.[3] Both his parents take good care that Jacob does not marry outside the circle of his relatives.[4]

The marriage of a daughter, as has been already mentioned, far from being made a source of expense by the requirement of a dowry, is on the contrary a very profitable investment. Her father must be paid for her in money or in kind a sum which varies between £20 and £60 in ordinary cases. The Arabic word, *mahr*, used to express this purchase-money, is practically identical with the Hebrew *mohar*, employed in the same sense in the Bible and incorrectly rendered dowry in our English versions. The price of a wife in Mosaic times was fifty shekels of silver or about £6.[5] But this may be regarded as a minimum price and was liable to increase in special cases. "Multiply exceedingly upon me purchase-money and marriage-gifts, and I will give as you demand," said Sichem, when asking Dinah to wife from her father Jacob and her brothers.[6] Service may take the place of purchase-money as when Othniel paid for Caleb's daughter by capturing the town of Debir[7] and David purchased the hand of King Saul's daughter, Michol, by slaying one hundred Philistines.[8] A more typical case is that of Jacob, who obtained in marriage the two daughters of his covetous uncle, Laban, at the price of fourteen years' service.[9] Jacob has his modern counterparts. Mr. Robinson Lees tells us of a man-servant of his own who purchased his wife by paying her father

[1] Gen. xx. 12. [2] Gen. xxiv. 2-3. [3] Gen. xxvii. 46. [4] *Ib.* xxviii. 1-2.
[5] Deut. xxii. 29. [6] Gen. xxxiv. 12. [7] Jud. i. 12. [8] 1 Sam. xviii. 25
[9] Gen. xxix. 20-27.

out of his wages four francs a month regularly for eight years.[1] But such a method of purchase is considered a bad one, as, in case of accidents, the instalments already paid are not recoverable. The sublimest application of this oriental custom is that made by New Testament writers to the great act of our redemption. Christ bought the Church, "the Bride, the wife of the Lamb,"[2] at the price of his own most precious blood. "Husbands love your wives," says St. Paul, "as Christ also loved the Church and delivered himself up for it."[3]

The transition from purchase-money to dowry in the modern sense is the consequence of more advanced social conditions. In the towns of modern Palestine the husband's purchase-money is spent largely or entirely on the adornment of the bride and thus becomes her dowry. Married women in Bethlehem, for instance, are at once recognised by the rows of silver and gold coins—their dowry—which they wear on their head-dress. Rich parents, too, spend large additional sums on this adornment. Thus did the Pharaoh of Egypt bestow the city of Gezer on his daughter when she married Solomon.[4]

The agreement on the purchase-money completes the match-making and constitutes the betrothal of the young couple. Thenceforth they may not see or speak with each other until after the wedding. Should an accidental meeting take place, each is supposed to look the other way. This explains the action of Rebecca when she saw for the first time her intended husband, Isaac, in the distance; she at once descended from her camel and covered her face with a veil.[5] As the bride is veiled at the wedding, one can understand the possibility of such an accident as happened to Jacob when the less attractive Leah was deceitfully substituted for the promised Rachel.[6] This would be quite impossible in ordinary cases, for the bridegroom's female relatives assist in

[1] *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 119. [2] Apoc. xxi. 9. [3] Ephes. v. 25.
[4] 1 Kings ix. 16. [5] Gen. xxix. 65. [6] Gen. xxix. 23 sq.

arraying the bride for the wedding. But Jacob alone in a strange land had no such safeguard against imposture.

The leading part in the marriage preparations and ceremonial is taken, not by the parents or guardians of either of the parties, but by the best man or friend of the bridegroom. That most important person is the chief witness to the marriage, directs the sports and entertainments, arranges the nuptial feast, collects the contributions of the guests—is, in fact, the general master of ceremonies. But his dignity is ephemeral, and after he has brought the bridegroom to the bride on the wedding-night he disappears entirely from the scene. St. John the Baptist could use no better illustration to express his relation to Our Divine Lord who came to wed his spouse, the Church. His it was to prepare the way of the Lord by preaching penance and gathering disciples, to bear public testimony to Christ at the beginning of his mission, to rejoice in the voice of the bridegroom as his best and truest friend, and then, when the union is begun by the founding of the kingdom, to return to obscurity, lest he should in any way keep others at a distance from the great Central Figure. "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, who standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth with joy because of the bridegroom's voice. This my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease."[1]

There are some varieties in the wedding ceremonies in the east according as the parties to be married are Christians, Jews or Mohammedans. Christians are married in the Church and according to the rites of the Church. The Jews resort to the synagogue. They have adopted moreover many of the customs of the different countries in which they have lived since their exodus from Palestine. The Mohammedans are the most faithful to ancient tradition, but the abasement of woman in Islam may have introduced some changes. With them

[1] John iii. 29-30.

the somewhat fragile knot is tied by the acknowledgment before witnesses that the youth takes the maiden for his wife. The points of chief interest to the Scripture student are the accessories to the principal act—namely, the marriage procession, the wedding feast, the collection after the feast and the home-bringing of the bridegroom late at night to the bride who awaits him.

When the bride belongs to a different village or district she is brought in a procession, enlivened by music, gun-firing and joyous acclamations, to her future home. If she be not a stranger, a simulated home-bringing takes place. Such an event is thus described in 1 Machabees.[1] "The children of Jambri made a great marriage and were bringing the bride out of Madaba, the daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan, with great pomp. . . . And the bridegroom came forth and his friends and his brethren to meet them with timbrels and musical instruments and many weapons." Jonathan and Simon Machabee took advantage of the festive occasion to avenge the treacherous murder of their brother, John, and "turn the marriage into mourning and the noise of the musical instruments into lamentation."

There are two figures of particular interest in the procession. The bride herself, supported by her female companions, is sheltered beneath a silk canopy which four men bear aloft on poles. So close was the connection between the canopy and the bride that the Hebrews used the same word *huppah* to designate canopy and bridal-chamber. The expression is adopted by Isaias when he tells us that "every glory has its canopy"[2] as well as in a well-known passage of the eighteenth Psalm[3] when the rising sun is compared to a bridegroom coming forth from the bridal-chamber. A very interesting writer[4] on eastern customs sees an allusion to this canopy in the words of the spouse in the Canticle: "He

[1] ix. 37 sq. [2] Isaias iv. 5. [3] v. 6.

[4] Rev. James Neil, M.A.: *Everyday Life in the Holy Land*, p. 236 (London, 1913).

led me to the house of wine, and his banner over me was love."[1] The reference here, however, is rather to the flags hoisted by the wine-sellers when and where they had wine for sale. An Arabic poet of the sixth century celebrates his generosity in entertaining friends by calling himself a "tearer down of the flags of the wine-vendors," meaning that he exhausted the whole supply. It was Syrian merchants who supplied wine to the Arabs and brought with them their native custom of advertising their goods.

Quite as conspicuous in the procession as the canopied maiden, is the native jester, a half-naked fellow who dances backwards as he leads the way, sometimes playing cymbals, sometimes flourishing a sword. The contrast provided by his antics and equipment, while it increases the general hilarity, is more directly intended to enhance the stately solemnity of the bride. In this figure, a feature of most joyous processions, we have the modern counterpart of King David, who danced before Jahweh with all his might, clad only in a linen shirt, when the ark of the Lord was solemnly and jubilantly brought into Jerusalem.[2] Such a humiliation excited the contempt and sarcasm of his wife Michol—"How glorious was the king of Israel to-day uncovered before the handmaids of his servants as a buffoon is uncovered!" David nobly replied by recalling all he owed to the God in whose honour he thus humbled himself, and then added: "Before Jahweh will I play and make myself meaner than I have done; and I will be little in my own eyes." The modern buffoon, whose place in the marriage procession is often taken by the best man, helps us to realise the extent and the object of David's humiliation.

Our Divine Lord has compared the joys of heaven to a marriage feast—a comparison rich in profound meaning and yet appealing as no other could to his simplest hearers. A good meal is the bright spot in the

[1] Cant. ii. 4. [2] 2 Sam. vi. 14 sq.

sombre existence of the toil-worn and poverty-stricken Palestinian peasant. And on no other occasion are invitations more numerous, viands more plentiful and festivities more prolonged than at a wedding. The feasting lasted for a week in the time of Samson, who assigned the seven days of the celebration as the period within which his riddle was to be solved.[1] Similarly at the wedding of Tobias "for seven days they feasted and rejoiced all with great joy."[2] At present open house is kept from three days to a fortnight, and ruinous expenses are sometimes incurred. But the feast *par excellence* takes place on the wedding-day after sunset, the hour of the peasant's single meal; for the morning or midday repast is only a collation. It is noteworthy in this context and quite in accord with present custom that the numerous meals mentioned in the New Testament are all suppers with only one exception, the lunch to which Our Lord was invited by a Pharisee,[3] who probably like the modern town-dwellers adopted European manners. The lateness of the marriage feast in the Gospel is evident from the fact that the guest who had no wedding garment was cast out into exterior darkness.[4] As for the wedding garment, nobody at the present day would insult his host by coming clad in working attire, but would wear over it the more ornamental *gombaz* or long outer tunic reserved for festive occasions. Perhaps I can give no better idea of the feast than by describing one at which I myself, fourteen years ago, was a guest. The occasion was a christening not a wedding, but that makes little difference as far as the banquet is concerned.

In the twilight of a June evening three of us, after a long day's journey from Banias, the ancient Caesarea Philippi, across the western spurs of Mount Hermon, reached the little town of Roshaya and sought hospitality from the pastor of the Syrian Catholic community. He

[1] Jud. xiv. 12. [2] 2 Tob. xi. 21. [3] Luke xi. 37. cf. also xiv. 12.
[4] Matt. xxii. 13. (Matt. in verse 4 curiously uses the word ἄριστον, 'lunch"; but Luke has the more exact δεῖπνον, xiv. 17).

was not at home, having gone to officiate at the baptism of a three months old member of his flock. In the Syrian rite the sacrament is administered by a triple immersion and is therefore usually delayed until the child is fairly strong. The pastor was promptly informed of our arrival and came at once to welcome us, bringing a cordial invitation to the feast, which was gladly accepted. After the usual salutations from our hosts, we were led into the well-filled guest-chamber and seated on the divan in the place of honour—the corner directly opposite on the right as one enters the room. The etiquette of precedence on such occasions is very minute and very rigidly observed even among the lower classes in the east, and the well-known words of Our Lord [1] on the matter find a constant application, as they did for instance in the case of those who had to make way for us. Coffee, cigarettes, sweets and small pieces of roast meat were handed round. The animated conversion that went on was occasionally interrupted by the strains of a native musician, who seemed to regard the least word uttered while he was playing as a personal insult. It was nearly nine o'clock when the banquet commenced. About fifty partook of it in relays, the three strangers with the pastor being in the first batch as the most honoured guests. Seven in number—for there was no room for more—we squatted on matting around a low table, which contained a lamb roasted whole, resting on a great mound of rice. These with bread and laban—a kind of coagulated milk—constituted the viands. There were no knives or spoons; but our host managed to provide us three with forks. Nevertheless we found it advisable to refrain from attacking the roast lamb until our neighbours' experienced fingers had made some practicable breaches. They left us far behind too with the rice, moulding it with the palms of their hands into balls, which they swallowed with great

[1] Luke xiv. 7 sq.

rapidity. Indeed everybody ate at top speed and without exchanging a word; and though there were seven successive relays, the whole performance scarcely lasted an hour. For drink a glass of water was placed between every two guests and replenished when needful by an attendant. The rice also was renewed, but the roast lamb was left to verify the proverb "sero venientibus ossa." After the meal our host and hostess performed the very necessary operation of washing our hands. This was a special act of courtesy on their part, as the water is usually poured out by a servant in modern as in ancient times. Hence the great lesson of humility taught by Our Divine Lord in washing the feet of his disciples.[1] Hence too we read: "Here is Eliseus, the son of Saphat, who poured water on the hands of Elias,"[2] the meaning being that he was a servant or disciple of Elias. When food is taken with the fingers, washing the hands before and after meals is a mere act of social etiquette easily dispensed with by the simple country people. Hence Our Lord defended his disciples for neglecting it and reproved the Pharisees for interpreting it as a ritual observance of universal obligation.[3]

A notable feature of the scene I have described was the entire absence of women from the guest-room and the feast. This is the result of Islamic influence on Christian family life, as we know from several passages in the Old and New Testaments. Job's sons, for instance, invited their three sisters to eat and drink with them at the feasts[4] they gave, and Our Lady was invited to the marriage feast at Cana.[5] Similarly the absence of wine at this Christian festivity was due to the prohibition movement initiated by Mohammed thirteen centuries ago and now at length invading the west. Everybody remembers the large supplement of wine, about 135 gallons, miraculously provided by Our Lord

[1] John xiii. 4 sq. [2] 2 Kings iii. 11. [3] Mark vii. 2 sq.
[4] Job i. 4. [5] John ii. 1.

at the Cana wedding. Much of this would no doubt have remained over for the festivities of the following days.

The marriage feast is followed by a collection made for the benefit of the young couple. The best man spreads out a cloth on which each guest in turn lays his gift. No sooner is a gift deposited than a crier makes some such declaration as the following: "God reward thee Mansur, son of Hasan; six piastres hast thou given for love of the bridegroom." This must be repeated in a loud voice at least three times; and so much is the public recognition appreciated that a guest will often make his contribution in several instalments so as to hear his name more frequently proclaimed. We are at once reminded of the admonition of Our Lord: "Therefore when thou dost an almsdeed, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be honoured by men. Amen, I say to you, they have received their reward."[1] The Gospel warning has not been uttered in vain for all the Palestinians. Ostentatious charity at the wedding feast is peculiar to the Mohammedans. The Christians instead quietly slip a gold or silver coin into the hand of the bride or bridegroom as they take their leave.

The last scene of the wedding-day is the torch-light procession of the bridegroom to receive his bride, who awaits him in their future home. She has been conveyed thither earlier in the evening and passes the long waiting period in dawdling and conversing with her female companions. The bridegroom too spends the evening with his friends, who have assembled after dark, in feasting and conversation until about eleven o'clock when the procession begins to be formed. Soon he begins the march, mounted on a white horse, closely accompanied by his more intimate friends and relatives, and followed by a crowd of sight-seers and well-wishers. Music of drum and flute, songs in honour of the bridegroom,

[1] Math. vi. 2.

rhythmical clappings of hands, and other noisy demonstrations give timely notice to the waiting maidens that the procession is near. The cry is at once raised, "The bridegroom cometh," and some of the bride's attendants, who have become for the most part tired and sleepy owing to the long delay and the unaccustomed late hour, light their small oil lamps, which are enclosed in a paper or oiled silk covering, and go to meet the bridegroom. When the cortege, reinforced by the lantern-bearing maidens, reaches the dwelling we have in modern Palestine two different modes of procedure. The usual Mohammedan custom is that the bridegroom enters and unveils the bride, who reverentially kisses his hand in token of wifely obedience. As the marriage feast has already taken place the friends merely proffer brief congratulations and depart, leaving the bridal pair alone. In some cases, however, the more intimate friends of the bridegroom and the bride unite with the happy couple in partaking of the nuptial supper at the witching hour of midnight.

The scene we have described is an exact reproduction of that which forms the background of the Gospel parable of the wise and foolish virgins.[1] We can understand from it why the bridegroom tarried and why the maidens slept and why the foolish ones had no time to procure the oil they needed and found the door closed against them on their tardy return. One difficulty, however, will naturally occur to those who are most familiar with the Vulgate version of the parable. "Then shall the kingdom of heaven," it begins, "be like to ten virgins who, taking their lamps, went out to meet the bridegroom *and the bride*." Now the bride had no part in the procession mentioned above, but awaited its arrival in her future home. Here textual criticism and modern usage lend each other mutual support. Most Greek manuscripts and all the most authoritative ones contain no

[1] Matt. xxv. 1-13.

mention of the bride, and arguing from this omission and from the context most, though not all, modern commentators regard the words "and the bride" as an interpolation. Those who regard them as authentic identify the scene in the parable with the marriage procession, which has been mentioned as taking place at an earlier period. But the lateness of the hour is against this, and there is no reason to think that maidens only would go to meet this procession. It is highly appropriate on the other hand that the female friends and representatives of the waiting bride should go forth part of the way with their lanterns to receive and welcome the bridegroom.

The highest idea of beauty and splendour in the east is suggested by the adornment of the bride on her wedding day. Her dress is of the richest material and most brilliant colours, embroidered with gold and silver thread and set with diamonds, rubies, pearls, emeralds and other precious stones. We must add to this the nose-rings, ear-rings, finger-rings, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, anklets, if we would form some idea of the splendours displayed. The simple children of the east have a great love of finery, and no bride will forget the glory of her wedding attire. This is what the prophet Jeremias alludes to when he inveighs against Israel's forgetfulness of her alliance with God: "Can a woman forget her wedding ornaments, a bride her attire?"[1] And St. John introduces his magnificent description of the heavenly Jerusalem, all gold and precious stones, with the following words: "And I, John, saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."[2]

Thus domestic customs, no less than customs connected with the land, in modern Palestine help to illustrate and explain the Bible. In our next article we shall see what a study of the Palestinian house and home can contribute to the same end.

EDMOND POWER.

[1] Jer. ii. 32 (cf. Isaias lxi. 10).

[2] Apoc. xxi. 2

## THE PRISONER.

HERE is the happy house where he was born,
The fields of honey-grass, the springing corn,
Mountain on mountain, far and far away,
And Glendalough, golden and silver grey—
The Dark Rose made her own of him who knows
There is no beauty like to hers, Dark Rose.

Soft singing of streams is here and hark! the lark
That is not still between the day and dark;
Thrushes and blackbirds and the cushat dove.
The wind wanders, rain from the hills above
Steals on her silver feet, and the grey mist
Veils for a little sapphire and amethyst.

Where does the Master tarry, whither stray
His feet that loved so well the appointed way,
That trod the pastures lightly, the rich mead?
The sheep run with their lambs, the cattle feed
Knee-deep in grass: their liquid eyes give praise.
Why is he absent from the nights and days?

Now in his dreams alone he hears the birds
And the familiar voice of flocks and herds:
In dreams he feels the wind upon his face,
Visits once more the old beloved place.
He is free, he is free, until he wakes once more
To the stark prison-walls, the unopening door.

He takes his outing in the prison yard.
His dear Black Rose has slipped through wall and guard;
Her beauty and glamour blind his wondering eyes,
For whom so many men made sacrifice,
Flinging their lives down with a jest and song
So she keep beautiful, so she keep young.

What matter for the gyves upon his hands!
O she is with him and she understands;
And she will lead him yet to the free air
And this wild beauty that but covers her.
And she is worth it all, his Lady who knows
There is no beauty like to hers, Dark Rose.

KATHARINE TYNAN.

## AUTUMN.

THE still, reluctant dying of the leaf
Shall cast a shadow o'er the twilight time
In rainbow-beauty, and the wind shall rhyme
The echo of a sad song's trailing grief.

*Sic transit !* Not with gorgeous pomp and blare
Shall Beauty pass and Death, defiant, greet;
But grey-robed winds shall come with muffled feet,
And weave sweet dreams upon the conscious air.

And she shall pass, as incense passes when
Light windlets lift the flower-faces up
And waft their soul to Heaven, while the cup
Goes crumbling to its earthy home again.

With the red glory sinking in the west,
She, calm and great, will glow and fade, and glide
In passionate silence, to th' unfathomed tide
Of Heaven's glorious light, in dimness dressed.

ENVOI.

But memoried traces of her shall remain,
A reflex, tinting a fair afterglow
Of Hope upon the soul, that she may know
Death's but a rainbow-archway in Life's fane.

MARY MONGEY.

## TO ROSALEEN.

A SINGER stands within your gates.
Few know his tarrying—how long,
He hears you weep, and, while he waits,
He strews your tear-stained soil with song.

Hush Rosaleen—he has a fear.
Forgive him that he tells you so;
Forgive the grief that holds him, dear—
The grief that he may have to go.

But, while he stands within your gates—
This singer who has loved you long—
And while you weep, that while he waits
And strews your tear-stained soil with song.

EGBERT SANDFORD.

## THE PASSIONATE SACRIFICE.

NOW that the autumn's here, the leaves are wise;
All summer they've been whispering their love
Discreetly, each to each, in boughs above
The long marsh grass; but now they realise
Love's culmination and its sacrifice:
Cast caution and themselves unto the wind,
Risking earth's ancient treachery to find
A golden loveliness in alien skies.

Nor ever lovelier, copper and crimson-rust,
Caught on a crazy passion, sweeping thence
Dance by the lake; while through stript branches stir
Wild lamentations;——only one gaunt old fir
Mutters in cynical indifference,
"Dust unto dust! Dust once again to dust!"

W. M. GIBBON.

# UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

## XI.—On a Warlike Prince.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

In their notice of the death of O'Conor Faly (the Calbhach) in 1458, the Four Masters tell us that he was "one who never refused the countenance of man, and who had won more wealth from his English and Irish enemies than any lord in Leinster."

Like his father Murchadh (d. 1421), the Calbhach had lived in constant warfare against the Pale; for Offaly, his patrimony, is part of the great plain of central Ireland fatally exposed to attack. This panegyric must have been written during the lifetime of O'Conor's wife, Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll, who died in 1451. She is celebrated in the Annals for her two festivals, in March and August, 1433, at which she entertained most of the poets, musicians and antiquaries of Ireland. Mrs. J. R. Green, in her *Old Irish World*, has a good essay on Margaret and her husband.

Seithfín Mór was the author of a number of panegyrics in this style. The metrical form is rare in MSS. There is no division into stanzas; the odd lines form consonance or quantitative rime with the even; alliteration and internal rime are observed throughout, but the classification of consonants is ignored, so that we have a forerunner of the modern metres elaborated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is a citation from this poem in the grammatical tract now appearing as a supplement to *Eriu*, which shows that the freer metres were not excluded from the schools.

The text is from H.4.22 (T.C.D.). I have extended the contractions, added accents, which are rare in the MS., and in a few cases marked the aspiration.

OSBORN BERGIN.

### Seithfín Mór cct.

Bríathra cogaidh con chath Laighnech,
cath lé ngorthoir gallchloch,
atá tríall ar nach téid toirmesc
con fhéin ó íath Almhan.
Tic in damhraidsi dá nderbadh
gallbailti gan ghalldacht.

Is gerr inn aga gan imthecht
a cenn chatha in Calbach.
Ar scibadh greg suaichnidh sibhlach
gluaisit gusin ngallchath,
ar scibadh a lúirech loindrech,
a crúisiuch 'sa carbad,
'sa sciath n-asnach do chlecht comrac,
'sa scabal mbrec mballghlas,
ar ngormadh clogat corr coinnlech,
'sar clochadh colg raghlas,
sibal con tshlógh fhíchmar Fhailghech,
ar límadh bróg mbarrlag.
Tógbhaid anocht ortha ac imthecht
cor gortha don ghalldacht.
Coinne in tshlúaighsi gá tá a tennguth
a Ráth Gúaire gabthur.
Ath Truim ar dheóradhuib dergas
beóghasraidh fhuind Alman,
co leiget sein gaeith tre ghalltor,
láeich a leith a farchadh.
Sibal dána ón oirecht Fhailghech,
Droiched Atha d'adhnadh ;
co hAth Cliath, ní cúairt can chennseal,
do-sía cúairt ón Chalbhach.
Cin agon lethanchath Laighnech
a Cethurlach carntar.
Co Cill Coinnigh nochar chromsat,
in toisg-sin is tarbach.
Hí Fhailghi, is dá n-eiri ac inthecht
aighne is greidle gallchloch ;
is imdha ón Fhailghech ar imchur
gaillcherc agus ganndal.
Sreth cabún[1] ac techt 'na theglach,
sreth bagún is brannrad.
A n-eiri ón echtra-sin Fhailghech
ar echlachuibh d'adhbras.

[1] *sic leg.* (?) to rime with *bagún* ; iabar MS.

Géill fa shíthlaibh óir gá n-inchur
ac rígraidh fhóid Alman.
Fine Chonchubair a comruc
comlasaid fan Chalbhach.
Soighde lethna ón ágh ar inchur,
slegha ar áth mar aradh.
Anait súd ar losgadh lorgphort
re goradh chúl calbthad.
Ceilter a áladh con Fhailghech
bántor noco mbarrlass.
Do dherg Caisel do dherg Durlus—
aister is fherr anfadh.
Do-béra fóss lá do Luimnech,
in tráth bus mó in margadh.
Cill Dara gá lá nach lingfedh ?
Nás aga do hadhnadh.
Atá tuilledh is ar thuirmes,
cuirther ar an Calbach.
Mac meic Muirchertaigh, bos barrghel,
rosg muintremail mallghlas,
aithris con macsain ar Murchadh,
do fhalaigh gach annsmacht.
A gemhel ghlúinech ghlas ghailbech
ac snas chúiledh calpthadh.
Fer lé cumthar cís ar coblach,
dá tundtar fín Frangcach.
Scíath brec ina aici ar imchur,
fer scailti scíath n-amlach.
Fer do grís an t-áth gá imthecht,
lámh re sním na samhthach,
fer sleighi go dorn do dergadh,
tonn is treisi anfadh.
Fer le linged brugh a bidhbad,
dá tug inghen annsacht ;
derc ar éndath is [in] t-ogradh,
fer lé mbrécthur banntracht.

Mac Gormlaithi, nár fhaem ainchert,
fraech borbthuinde balbus.
Do cuiredh súas don fhód Ultach
lé glór cúach ón Chalbhach.
Faemthar don bosfhada bronntach
Connachta fa chrandchur.
Do coisged leis medhair Muimnech,
freagraid sein in samhrad.
Is deredh d'ossadh na n-Ulltach:
in codladh don Chalbach?
In codladh don Chalbhach?

Clú Mairgréd[1] ar cor a caemna,
failmgég nach blodh bríathra,
ben nár chuir eól ar an éra,
cnú beó d'fhuil na n-íarla;
cíab gégach dan hoide Issa,
croidhe dércach díadha;
ar ól fledh nír thréig a trátha,
ben do réir a ríaghla;
atá sí ar an ceird gá caemna,
is leind[2] bíd a bríathra.
Bríathra c.

[1] mairgreigi MS. [2] lind MS.

## Translation.

Words of war in the Leinster battle-host, a host by which foreign castles are fired; the band from Almha's land[1] is on a march that cannot be checked! This company of warriors comes to prove that foreign towns are empty of foreigners. Short is the time the Calbhach spends without going to battle. Having seized[2] their beautiful fleet steeds they move towards the foreign host; having snatched[2] their glittering breastplates, their lances and their waggons, and their ribbed shields tried in conflict, and their chequered blue-studded shoulder-pieces, having burnished their smooth shining helmets and whetted their blue swords, the fierce host of Offaly marches away in polished soft-topped shoes. To-night

[1] Almha is the Hill of Allen, in Kildare.

[2] If the reading is correct, *sgibadh* may mean "get ready," from the older sense of "fit out (a ship)."

as they go they undertake to set the Pale ablaze. This firm-voiced host musters at Rath Guaire.[1] The vigorous company from Almha's land reddens Trim for the aliens, till they let the wind through a foreign tower, warriors in handling their mauls. A bold march by the host of Offaly,the burning of Drogheda! As far as Dublin—a proud circuit—the Calbhach's visit will extend. By the widespread Leinster host trophies are heaped up in Carlow. They have not swerved towards Kilkenny, that journey brings profit. The Offalians as they march are laden with the pans and griddles of foreign castles; many a foreign hen and gander is borne by the man of Offaly. A procession of capons (?) coming to his house, a procession of bacon and trivets. Horseboys laden with yarn after that excursion of the Offalians. Hostages bearing vessels of gold beside the princes of Almha's land. The O'Conors in battle blaze around the Calbhach. Broad shafts are borne from the fight, spears on a ford form a ladder (?). When they have burnt a fortress, they tarry to warm the backs of their shanks. The Offalian conceals his wound until a white tower blazes to the summit. He has fired Cashel, he has fired Thurles—a most dashing raid! He will yet give a day to Limerick, when the market is fullest. What day would he not storm Kildare? He has burnt Naas.

There is more than I have recounted that is ascribed to the Calbhach. Muirchertach's grandson, of the white-fingered hand, of the kindly steady blue eye, that son imitates Murchadh, who crushed all tyranny out of sight. His rough angry iron chain marks the backs of (wrong-doers') legs. A man by whom a tax is devised for a fleet, whereby French wine is stored in casks. A chequered shield is borne beside him, the man who splits . . . shields. A man who has heated the ford by his passage; a hand to twist axe-helves; a man who reddens the spear to the hand-grip; wave mightiest in fury. A man who storms the strongholds of his foes; beloved of maidens; eye of the hue of the bugloss; he by whom ladies are beguiled. Gormlaith's son, who never brooked injustice, who silences the rage of the wild wave. Because of the Calbhach the soil of Ulster has been abandoned at the voice of the cuckoos. Connacht is yielded by lot to the long-handed generous prince. He has checked the mirth of Munstermen, these answer the summer. Ulster's truce is at an end: is the Calbhach asleep?[2]

Margaret's fame has established her protection; palm-branch who breaketh not her words; a lady who has not learnt to refuse; darling of the blood of earls; flowing tresses whose fosterer is Jesus; heart bountiful and pious. To drink feasts she never forsook her prayers—a woman who lives by rule. She protects herself[3] against our art, her words are on our side.

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[1] Rathgory, Co. Louth (?).

[2] Or "The Calbhach's sleep is the end of the Ulstermen's truce"—they dare not stir while he is awake.

[3] Or "is protected." The poets can find no flaw in her.

# TWO BISHOPS OF KILLALOE AND IRISH FREEDOM.

## John O'Molony II.—(1617-1702).

BY JAMES HOGAN.
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### Part III.[1]

My Lord,—I should not be an upright man, if I were not still mindful and careful of all you gave me in charge when I came out of Ireland. I found out the root and fountain of such evils as your Lordship heard was aprocuring against Ireland. There are ill-affected Irishmen at Paris who make it their work to recover their right in Ireland by French power. They are endeavouring all manner of ways to transport a French army into Ireland. It is certain that they have made their conditions and have orders to receive a sum of money, and withal there are three ships upon the coast of Bretagne charged with arms, ammunition, and many other instruments of war ready for Ireland.

Letter from a spy (probably Captain Archer) to Ormond and cited under date of Oct. 27, 1666, in *Calendar of State Papers* (Irish), p. 247.

Within few years after his Majesty's happy restauration one John Mollony, a mean man by birth, but now Irish Bishop of Killaloe, and several others of the Popish clergy and gentry of that kingdom united in a conspiracy against his Majesty's government in Ireland. For the said Bishop Mollony having, whilst he was in France, received in Paris the sum of one hundred thousand livres to promote a rebellion in Ireland, did engage the ensuing persons to carry on the said design—(to wit) Col. Miles Reilly, Col. Cullen, Col. Byrne, Col. Mortagh O'Brien, and Col. Dudley Costelloe, the last of whom failed not to perform his part thereof, as presently I shall relate.

*A Narrative of the Irish Popish Plot for betraying the Kingdom into the hands of the French.* (This Report, written by David Fitzgerald and presented to both Houses of Parliament, is preserved in the *Thorpe Collection*).

Déjà, pour favoriser ce dessein par quelque sorte de diversion, j'avais fait embarquer quatre cents hommes avec ordre de descendre en Irlande aussitôt qu'ils pourraient y être reçus par la faction des catholiques, résolu de les soutenir après d'un plus grand secours, s'ils se mettaient en état d'en avoir besoin.

*Lettres de Louis XIV.* (Rose), Tome II., p. 195. Dated 1667.

Dr. Smith, knowing the bishop [O'Molony] to be a very intriguing man and concerned in the plot of 1667, was curious to see them [papers entrusted by O'Molony to the care of Smith], and being struck with horror showed them to Sheridan. In

[1] For Parts I. and II. see March and June issues.

that year the Duke of Beaufort was to carry men and arms and other necessaries into Ireland for an army to be raised there by a certain number agreed on in every parish by the influence of Primate Reilly, Colonel O'Reilly, Colonel Mortagh O'Brien, Colonel Burn and others; all which was discovered by one Taafe, an Irish Friar in Paris, to the Queen Mother, and by her in person to King Charles II.

*Calendar of Stuart Papers*, Vol. vi., p. 62.

THE foregoing documents show that, towards the close of 1666 and the beginning of 1667, a serious attempt to free Ireland from British control was in progress. The original plan was to organise a large expeditionary force at La Rochelle, and we saw in a previous article that Ormond's spies variously estimated this force at 15,000 and 25,000 men. But a change of policy, which led Louis XIV. to attack the Spanish Netherlands, necessitated the utilisation of this force and the cultivation of friendly relations with England. O'Molony and his friends had, therefore, to abandon their more ambitious plans. They now proceeded to mobilise a smaller force at Brest.

By November, 1666, Brest had become the recognised base for the projected expedition. Here, besides Col. Byrne and other Irish leaders, was the Duc de Beaufort, admiral of the French fleet, who had taken on himself the supervision of the whole enterprise. In this same month of November Bishop Lynch was dispatched to Ireland to inform the Irish leaders that at any moment they might expect to see the French fleet; he had already been preceded by Primate O'Reilly. A letter from the Governor of Guernsey to the authorities in Ireland corroborates all this. "I have a powerful and threatening neighbour," he writes, "and I do assure you he hath an eye upon that kingdom where you are, and I am confident we shall hear of him next spring . . . I know he endeavours to make a party there; and one Linty [Lynch], who is agent there, lately returned from thence. They call him the Bishop of Galway, and is shortly to go thither again."[1]

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Irish), 1666-1669, p 248.

The forecast of spring as the date of the invasion proved correct; for early in that year de Beaufort informed Col. Byrne that he was about to send him to Ireland with arms and ammunition. After a short delay a frigate was fitted out with a crew of thirty-five men and six guns. Thirteen firkins of powder, about 150 pounds of bullets, some musketoons, a good supply of swords and pistols, and several stands of arms were put on board[1]—purchased, no doubt, by the funds of which O'Molony had charge. It would appear that this frigate was only one of a flotilla; but whether the latter ever sailed or not is a problem which I have not yet been able to solve. At a later stage a solution will be suggested.

After a voyage of fifteen days the frigate dropped anchor at a place called Ardenary, within three or four miles of Arklow, on the Friday before Palm Sunday—that is (O.S.), March 29, 1667. The cargo of arms was unloaded and concealed under a bank on the sea-shore. Col. Byrne then said goodbye to his comrades and went ashore. His commission was to get into touch with the leaders in Ireland, distribute the arms, and keep the country in a state of tension for the arrival of the French. He remained at large till the first week in May, interviewing people and preparing the way for the invading force, which he expected would arrive within six weeks.

The first person whom he interviewed was David Lenan, the Prior of Arklow Monastery, to whom he said: "I have come to prepare the minds of the people for an invasion." From Arklow he journeyed to Dublin. Whilst loitering in the vicinity of Colonel Richard Talbot's house, he was recognised by the parish priest of Donnybrook (Father Doyle), who had known him years before at Antwerp. It is significant to find Byrne lurking near the house of one who twenty years later as Duke of Tyrconnell would conspire with Louis XIV. for the liberation of Ireland, and would make proposals suspiciously like those

[1] *Ibid.* p. 621.

of 1666-1667. From Dublin Byrne made his way, disguised as a friar, to Carlow, and called on the parish priest of Tullow. They had been friends in Paris nine years before. Byrne disclosed his plans. He had come, he said, "to dissuade the Irish from flying when the French landed."[1]

What results were achieved by all this interviewing and journeying have not been revealed, but we know that Dublin Castle had already news of Byrne's arrival in Ireland and that Ormond's agents were on his track. On May 6th he crept into the house of one George Cullen, of Clonmore, in the county of Carlow. This man Byrne had known in his youth, and from him he now sought an asylum. With enthusiasm he once more, but once too often, unfolded the object of his mission—"he had come six weeks before from France," a French army would be in the country "within five weeks," and "all plantations made since the reign of Elizabeth" would be recalled. He then retired to rest, and Cullen slipped out to betray him. Next day Byrne was arrested and thrown into prison.

The government traced his movements over the country and rounded up those with whom he had had communication. In a series of examinations a great deal of the most important information came to light. This was a real disaster, because the only chance of success was to take Ormond by surprise. This wily governor was now on the alert and, what was worse, communicated his discovery to Charles II., who in turn passed it on to Louis XIV., with a request for an explanation. Louis was in a quandary, because he had long angled for an alliance with Charles, and had secured it by a secret treaty on March 31, 1667—just two days after Byrne landed in Ireland. But, like our modern rulers and ministers, he met the difficulty by denying all knowledge of the facts. "The King of France," says Sheridan, "disowned his having had any hand in the matter, and said, if there

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 616-622.

was any such design, it proceeded from the ambition of his cousin Beaufort."[1] And herein we have probably a solution of the mystery which surrounds the expeditionary force mobilised at Brest. Louis, in consequence of the representations of Charles, must have put an absolute embargo on its departure.

The Irish waited in vain for the arrival of this force, until at last some of the bolder spirits decided to try the chances of a guerilla warfare. The rebellion began in Cavan, where Nangle, a convert to Catholicism and a man of great daring, took the field. After dealing several rapid blows at English centres, Nangle joined hands with Dudley Costelloe and his band of "about forty other desperate fellows."[2] Together they attacked Castle Forbes; but it proved too strong for them. Nangle then struck out in all directions, raided right up to the gates of the English garrison towns, and inspired the whole Irish population with admiration for his valour and with confidence in his capacity. Recruits began to flock to his standard, and it looked for a moment as if a rebellion on a formidable scale was at hand. "There was now reason enough," as Carte says, "to apprehend that abundance of people of that sort might join them unless they were speedily suppressed." Charles II., who knew the designs of the Irish abroad, at once saw the significance of the rebellion in Ireland. He sent orders to Ormond to march on Kinsale with the regular forces and to raise a Protestant militia all over the Kingdom. The viceroy, who had ever tried craft before force, issued a proclamation, branding Nangle, Costelloe, and their followers as "rebels," in the hope of thus detaching many from their standard and of deterring others from joining. The answer of Nangle and Costelloe was to extend their operations over wider and wider areas. Ormond now changed his tactics. He sent out a cavalry regiment with orders that they were not to

[1] *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. vi., p. 62.

[2] Carte: *Life of Ormond*, vol. iv., p. 255.

quit the saddle until Nangle and his men were taken or destroyed. All through the summer there was a running fight in which the honours were evenly divided. But in the last days of summer Nangle and his band of insurgents were surprised. In the encounter Nangle was killed and his followers dispersed. Costelloe, however, rallied the remnants of the little band, and retreated to the lands of his fathers near Gallen, Co. Leitrim. Making this his head-quarters, he operated for miles around and wrought "terrible havock in the country."[1] So seriously did he challenge the authority of the government that they were ready to treat with him. Costelloe, therefore, offered to leave the country "if he might have a pass to do so with safety." At first Ormond seems to have been inclined to accept this offer, but then declared that it was below the dignity of the State to make terms with "a common robber." Yet Carte goes on: "All the standing forces of the kingdom could not take the man."[2]

Costelloe carried on his guerilla tactics until the following January. Then it happened that one of those whom he had most frequently harassed, Viscount Dillon, found out his hiding place. Dillon picked two companies, and in the dead of night they crept into the quarters of the sleeping Irish. Costelloe seems to have heard them approaching; for he sallied forth with a handful of men. But the Irish were hopelessly outnumbered, and in a terrible hand to hand fight Costelloe was shot dead and his men cut to pieces.

Thus ended the movement of 1666-1667. It failed, like other similar movements in Ireland, because a strong ally withdrew its promised support at the critical moment. Certain important results, however, were achieved: the ideal of an independent Ireland and the interest of France in this ideal were awakened. O'Molony, Bishop French, and other Irish leaders, still working behind the scenes, carefully fostered this interest until finally France inter-

[1] Carte: *Life of Ormond*, vol. iv., p. 255. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

vened on a big scale. English State Papers, during the years 1667-1689, have frequent references to Franco-Irish activities. Indeed, the fear of a French invasion became a veritable obsession, which at length culminated in the Titus Oates Plot and the martyrdom of Blessed Oliver Plunket, a perfectly innocent man. But a scapegoat had to be found, and what more fitting victim than the Primate of all Ireland ? The evidence of the first witness, Florence MacMoyer (Wyer), shows that the charge brought against Plunket should really have been made against O'Molony. MacMoyer swore as follows :—

> I knew there was a plot before Plunket's time and in his time, for it was working in the years 1665 and 1666 ; but it was brought to full maturity in 1667. For then Colonel Miles O'Reilly and Colonel Bourne [Byrne] were sent to Ireland from the King of France, with a commission to muster as many men as they could, and promising to send an army of 40,000 men. . . .[1]

Let us now turn to the career of O'Molony subsequent to the failure of the 1666-1667 movement. He seems to have withdrawn from Paris to Rouen towards the close of 1667. We have already seen that he was a canon of the cathedral church and a personal friend of the archbishop, Francis Harlay. He now took up his residence in the palace of the latter—*in cujus palatio vivit amicus noster ab eo dilectus quasi frater uterinus.*[2]

From 1651 to 1671 the diocese of Killaloe was without a bishop. In 1658 the people of the diocese petitioned the Holy See to appoint John O'Molony. This petition was supported by the doctors of the University of Paris, by two archbishops and two bishops in France, and by an anonymous document which described him as the best qualified for episcopal rank and as possessed of ecclesiastical benefices sufficient to uphold that rank.[3] Rome, however, for some special reason took no action. Then

[1] Moran : *Memoir of Oliver Plunket*, p. 378 (cf. *State Trials*, vol. viii., p. 454).
[2] Moran : *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i., p. 451.
[3] Brady: *The Episcopal Succession*, p. 121.

ten years later (1668) another series of petitions was forwarded—from the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, from the Bishop of Ferns, and from Dr. Patrick Maginn, Chaplain to the Queen. In two successive communications Archbishop O'Reilly recommended the name of O'Molony —*vir impavidus, doctus et zelosus, S.T. Doctor Parisinus.*[1] But the most glowing tribute to the worth of O'Molony came from Nicholas French, the exiled Bishop of Ferns. I take the liberty of quoting part of his remarkable testimony, written from Ghent on February 16, 1668 :—

> Quandoquidem in animum induxerit Rmus. Dnus. columnas erigere in Ecclesia Hibernica, nostrum est homines commendare magnae virtutis et idoneos ad tam altum ministerium. Talis est bonorum omnium testimonio illustris et sapientissimus D. Joan. O'Molony, S.T.D. Parisiensis, Canonicus nobilissimae Ecclesiae Cathedralis Rhotomagensis. Tam claris ornatur ille virtutibus ut non facile dixerim quid me magis delectat in eo. Est nobilis ortu, excellenter doctus, vitae exemplaris, affabilis, prudens, trium linguarum—nempe Gallicae, Hibernicae et Anglicae—ita peritus ut possit in quavis eleganter concionari, in egentes patriae suae liberalis (in eos effundit Canonicatum suum et duo beneficia simplicia aliaque emolumenta, ita ut in fine anni non sit inter omnes pauperior illo). Plane idem agit quod Tobias senior, qui quotidie pergebat per omnem cognationem suam et consolabatur eos, esurientes alebat, et nudis vestimenta praebebat. Adhuc unum addo, eum aptum esse et parem arduis negotiis tractandis per acris ingenii excellentiam.[2]

Rome still waited three years ; but we can understand the cause. Far more important sees than Killaloe were vacant. At the close of 1668 there were no more than five Irish bishops alive, and of these only two—Dr. Patrick Plunket, of Ardagh, and Dr. Owen MacSweeney, of Kilmore—were residing in Ireland. The other three—Dr. O'Reilly, of Armagh, Dr. Lynch, of Kilfenora, and Dr. French, of Ferns (*qui est Ormondo Duci et Proregi exosus*)[3] —were in exile on the Continent. The Church in Ireland was evidently in urgent need of reorganisation ; and this

[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i., p. 458. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 451. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

Rome now proceeded to do. In 1669 the vacant sees of Armagh, Meath, Dublin, Ossory, Cashel, and Tuam were filled; in 1671, the sees of Clogher, Down and Connor, Waterford, Clonfert, Elphin, and Killaloe. The appointments of 1669 elicited from O'Molony two letters, in which he expresses to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda his gratitude for the happy choice of prelates to fill the vacant sees. Whether these letters, very interesting specimens of the epistolary style of that age, influenced or were meant to influence the writer's appointment to an Irish bishopric is a matter of conjecture. That of July 19, 1669, concludes with the following offer of service:—

Accipe ergo, Vir Illme., qualecumque grati animi testimonium, et si quid exigui hominis et fere inutilis opera hisce in partibus valeat sive pro rebus familiaribus sive pro publicis Ecclesiae negotiis, in quibus totus versaris, promptissimum in me reperies parendi animum, studiosissimamque complacendi et satisfaciendi voluntatem. In aula apud regni administros non sum ignotus, in rebus agendis et tractandis non penitus ignarus, in nostra facultate Theologiae Parisiensis apud melioris notae et sanioris mentis theologos . . . . nonnihil possum.

This offer of service was accepted on May 26, 1671; for on that date O'Molony was appointed bishop of Killaloe. His consecration, however, did not take place until March 8, 1672. The ceremony was performed in the private chapel of his friend Francis Harlay, now Archbishop of Paris, the officiating bishops being those of Tournai, Angoulème, and Le Mans. Though a new archbishop, Mgr. Rouxel de Mendavi, had just been appointed to Rouen, still O'Molony was allowed to draw his revenues as a Canon of the Cathedral Church; for in Fallue's *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'église métropolitaine et du diocèse de Rouen* we find the following record:—

Un chanoine de Rouen, M. de Molony, fut nommé évêque de Loon en Irlande, chargé d'y faire mission, d'instruire les peuples à la religion catholique, de les retirer de l'erreur, et de les porter à

se convertir. L'archevêque écrivit à ce sujet au chapitre, qu'il y allait de l'honneur de la compagnie de considérer ce chanoine comme présent, de le laisser jouir de ses distributions et des fruits de sa prébende, afin de lui donner le moyen de subsister, attendu que les évêques ne jouissaient d'aucun revenu en Irlande, tout ayant été usurpé par les hérétiques.

Though practically a year had elapsed between his appointment and his consecration, yet O'Molony showed no signs of leaving Paris. He was engaged on a project of which we have already heard something, the project of founding an Irish College in Paris. The necessity of soon withdrawing—perhaps for ever—from France made the realisation of this project all the more insistent. Rome, however, was of the opinion that the needs of his diocese were far more insistent, and consequently it repeatedly urged him to return to Ireland. On August 2, 1672, it issued positive orders to that effect. In reply O'Molony expressed his complete readiness to obey, but begged for a short extension of leave, and in this he was supported by letters from Archbishop Plunket of Armagh[1] and Bishop Brennan of Waterford. Rome, however, would brook no further delay, and accordingly O'Molony set out for Ireland before the close of 1672.

Immediately on his arrival in Dublin he was called on to exercise his diplomatic skill in settling a serious dispute between the Archbishop of Armagh (Oliver Plunket) and the Archbishop of Dublin (Peter Talbot). The question at issue was the right of primacy. Each warmly defended the claim of his see to primatial rank, and each wrote a treatise in defence of that claim. At the synod held in Dublin in 1670, when the matter came up for discussion, Archbishop Plunket asked to have it settled there and

[1] Archbishop Plunket, however, in a previous letter (January 20, 1672) to the Secretary of Propaganda had written as follows: "Dr. O'Molony, of Killaloe, wrote to me about the dread he has of the Duke of Ormond and his satellites. But I pray you to write to him to come to his diocese as soon as possible, and without delay; for I spoke about the matter to the Viceroy [Lord Berkeley], and he replied that, having no royal order against him, he would not, on account of the enmity of an individual, exclude from the kingdom the subjects of his Majesty."

then by the assembled bishops; but Archbishop Talbot insisted that it should be referred to Rome.

To await in silence the decision of Rome would have been the wise policy; but early in 1672 Dr. Plunket published his treatise *Jus Primatiale*, and this brought matters to a head. Prominent Catholics, like Colonel Patrick (who sided with Plunket) and Colonel Talbot (who sided with his brother the Archbishop of Dublin) now entered the lists. But the worst aspect of the controversy was the opportunity it gave the English government to apply its favourite principle of *divide et impera*. A series of extracts from contemporary correspondence will give the reader the best idea of the nature, dimensions and repercussions of the controversy and of the part played by O'Molony in its settlement :—[1]

The most illustrious Archbishop of Armagh has just now published in Dublin a book in English, in which he endeavours to prove that the primacy and precedence is due to him; but this is done with arguments so inconclusive that he might justly be deemed an assailant rather than a defendant of that cause. . .

And lest your Excellency should imagine that the Archbishop of Armagh has any support or patronage from the Court in this cause, I must inform you that the Chief Secretary and Councillor of the Viceroy, being lately returned from England, came to me at once, and after a while presented to me, in the presence of my Vicar-General, an order of his Excellency, to the effect, that Oliver Plunket should, on his knees, ask my pardon for his temerity and for the injuries done to me.

(*Archbishop Talbot to the Secretary of Propaganda, March* 26, 1672).

During the past two years extraordinary differences have subsisted between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, occasioned by pretensions to precedence, to jurisdiction, to the title of primate, and other foolish notions. At length these differences have degenerated into a clamorous and scandalous discord . . . Whilst I was in Dublin I endeavoured, by all quiet means, to reconcile them, and also from this place by means of letters; but I only succeeded in having good promises and in an apparent reconciliation.

(*Bishop Brennan to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, March* 30, 1672).

[1] The full text of the letters will be found in Cardinal Moran's *Memoir of Oliver Plunket*, 2nd ed., pp. 251-274.

The greatest annoyance which they had in Ireland was the continuance of the dissension between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, which now seems irremediable, as the Archbishop of Dublin lately received some sort of a commission from the King, authorising him, as he says, to superintend all the clergy; and with it he has commenced to annoy the Archbishop of Armagh, prohibiting him to ordain so many priests, and requesting him to recall a decree which he made about the names of some families of his province, to ask pardon of the King and clergy, and other such things. I confess I do not understand this sort of authority. . . .

(*Bishop Brennan to the Secretary of Propaganda, November* 14, 1672).

I may have written many vexatious letters to your Excellency; but I am sure the present one will not be so annoying, as it brings the news how, through the labours of the Bishop of Killaloe, a perfect concord and reconciliation has been established between the Archbishop of Dublin and myself. . . . The Bishop of Killaloe brought about a reconciliation also between two other Catholic gentlemen of high character and position. . . .

(*Archbishop Plunket to the Internuncio in Brussels, November* 19, 1672).

To-day I have received letters from the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Killaloe, in date the 19th of last month, and both convey to me the intelligence that on that day a reconciliation had taken place between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, which they announce in these precise words: *Hodie reddita est pax Ecclesiis Armachanae et Dublinensi.* This is chiefly owing to the efforts of Dr. O'Molony, who since his arrival in Dublin laboured incessantly to effect it. In the same week, a few days before this event, a reconciliation was effected in Dublin between Colonel Talbot and Colonel John Patrick, and this, too, through the efforts of the Bishop of Killaloe and of the Archbishop of Armagh. . . .

(*Bishop Brennan to the Secretary of Propaganda, December* 1, 1672).

My suffragan, the illustrious Bishop of Killaloe, has not as yet come to his diocese: about three months ago he arrived in Dublin, and he still continues there, not without sufficient reason, as I am convinced, though I am not aware of what his precise motives may be. He has long since been intermediary in the reconciliation of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and in this he achieved an important work. I have conceived the greatest hopes in his regard. . .

(*Archbishop Burgatt to the Secretary of Propaganda, February* 5, 1673).

The Archbishop of Dublin and myself are like two real brothers, we agree so well; so also are Colonel Patrick and Colonel Talbot, the two most important Catholics of this kingdom for their skill in managing public or private matters, and for their high position in Court. These two gentlemen, by their dissensions, divided all the Catholics in the kingdom into two factions, to the great prejudice of our affairs; but now, through the mercy of God, they are friends and closely united in friendship, and on Sunday last they went together to London to oppose every attempt of those who are but little friendly to us. Dr. O'Molony, of Killaloe, brought them into harmony, and has remained here till now to preserve their union, and in doing so he has rendered a great service to this kingdom; and he is a person so estimable that I am sure he will render yet greater services to us, and this especially for reasons which I cannot now commit to paper, as I have not my cipher with me . . .

(*Letter of Archbishop Plunket, March* 14, 1673).[1]

On November 19, 1672, O'Molony wrote to Rome to announce that he had succeeded in settling the primatial controversy and that he was leaving for his diocese the following day—*proximo jam die in meam diœcesim sum profecturus, laboraturus si quid possum in vinea mihi commissa.*[2] But we have seen from the letter of Archbishop Plunket that he was still in Dublin on March 14, 1673. Why this delay? A consideration of the following facts will enable us to suggest an explanation. Dr. Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin (1669-1680), was closely associated with Charles II. during that monarch's exile on the Continent, and is believed by some historians to have received him into the Catholic Church at Cologne in 1656.[3] His brother, Colonel Richard, also stood high in the favour of Charles; but he stood still higher in that of his

[1] Cardinal Moran, in citing this letter (p. 264), does not state to whom it was addressed. All the evidence points to the conclusion that it was addressed either to the Secretary of Propaganda or to the Internuncio in Brussels.

[2] Moran: *Memoir of Oliver Plunket*, p. 272.

[3] Cardinal Moran writes: "It appears unquestionable that, during his exile in Cologne, Charles II. received instruction in the Catholic faith and was privately received into the Church by Dr. Talbot" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xiv., p. 433). For contrary view see Lingard, vol. x., p. 57 (6th edition). See also text of Secret Treaty (1670) between Charles II. and Louis XIV. (Lingard, vol. ix., p. 251).

successor, James II. In a future article he will figure largely as Duke of Tyrconnell and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Then the French Ambassador in London at this juncture was Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, and we have the testimony of Archbishop Plunket that O'Molony was a great friend of his.[1] Commanding such influence at the English Court, it was only natural that the Catholic leaders in Ireland should employ it to obtain some redress for their suffering co-religionists. If the reader will now turn back to the letter of Archbishop Plunket, he will see that two plenipotentiaries, Colonels Patrick and Talbot, were dispatched on a special mission to London on March 9, 1673. The mysterious words at the end of the letter—"I am sure that he [O'Molony] will render yet greater services to us, and this especially for reasons which I cannot now commit to paper, as I have not my cipher with me"—refer, I have no doubt, to the object of this mission and to the part played therein by O'Molony. His activities in Dublin had already aroused the suspicions of the English authorities, to whom Essex, the Lord Lieutenant, presented the following report:—

Concerning O'Molony, the titular bishop of Killaloe, he has spent most of his time in France, and I am apt to persuade myself is too eminent a man to be concealed there without being taken notice of. He has employed his time since his arrival here (and not without success) in composing the differences which were amongst those of his own religion. . . . I perceive, too, that he lives in a better condition than the small profits which he can make of his titular bishopric would put him into. All this gives me ground to suspect that he is a pensioner of France. As our alliances now stand, there is no danger of this man, but in case that they should vary, and that France and England should not be upon so good terms one with another, as I presume they now are, this person may be a most mischievous instrument. I could not, therefore, but think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with these particulars, that your Lordship may know in time, and whilst you have opportunities of good intelligence at the Court of France, inform yourself of what value O'Molony is there, and with whom he holds his correspon-

[1] Moran: *Memoir of Oliver Plunket*, p. 128

dence, only with this caution that you do not credit too much any information that may be sent you from the Abbé Montague, whom I know is very much a friend of this O'Molony.[1]

Essex had obviously heard a good deal about O'Molony's influence in France. The forecast that he might prove "a most mischievous instrument," if France and England should happen to fall out, will be seen later to have been quite correct. However, the authorities were satisfied for the moment to keep a close watch on his movements. The next incident in his career which they record concerns his attempt to settle a very unpleasant dispute between Archbishop Talbot and John Byrne, Prior of the Dominican Convent, Kilcock, Co. Kildare.

Between 1670 and 1673 the Catholics in Ireland enjoyed a certain measure of peace and security; but they felt that persecution might break out at any moment, and consequently the policy of the Church was to afford no shadow of justification for its renewal. Archbishop Talbot impressed on his clergy the necessity of committing no illegalities, such as the wearing of a distinctive dress or the ringing of church bells to call the people to mass. Now the Prior of Kilcock violated these injunctions; for he was accustomed to travel about the country in his religious habit, and on Sundays used to blow a horn to summon the faithful. He paid no heed to the repeated commands of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Kildare to be more discreet. Finally, the people were forbidden to assist at his mass. But the Prior, who should have been born in a more militant age, continued to blow his horn "without any regard to the law of the land or the canons of the Church." The Archbishop then excommunicated him, and got Lord Dongan, a Catholic Justice, to commit him to prison. This gave the authorities an opening. They accused Talbot and Dongan of exercising foreign jurisdiction—that is, of enforcing ecclesiastical law.

[1] *Essex Papers* (Camden Series), vol. i., p. 76; *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), 1673, p. 150.

O'Molony tried to settle the matter before Dublin Castle could forge it into a political weapon. Writing to Byrne in May, he says :—

I have already received your lengthy letter, in which you try to prove your innocence. I wish you could persuade others as easily as me. I will do what I can to procure your liberty, both with the Archbishop and Lord Dongan. Your case is more difficult than you think, nor am I certain I can do for you what I wish ; yet I will see that my help shall not be wanting. But I must warn you that a complete and unconditional submission is absolutely necessary, and that you will retire from these parts to the place of obedience appointed by your superiors, or elsewhere if you prefer it, outside this province. We shall take care of your reputation as far as possible, but you must surrender to another the business hitherto entrusted to you, according to the command of the superior or provincial. If I can (which I do not expect) obtain better conditions for you, I will gladly do so. Yet I give you a friendly warning to get out on whatever easy terms you can, and not to plunge into litigation and danger. It is better anticipate than be anticipated, and he who is wise only after the event (like most of our cloth) is wise too late. If you are a sensible man, I have said enough[1] . . . .

O'Molony's diplomatic skill, however, failed on this occasion ; both parties refused to accept a compromise. The British authorities, ever anxious to sow the seeds of discord, were only too happy to widen the breach. Writing to Ormond, Essex comments thus on the incident : "I made use of some of their friars, who have always their little wrangle with the secular clergy, to set up factions against the bishop."[2]

Dr. O'Molony now withdrew to his diocese, which had been without a bishop since the death of his uncle in 1651. That his presence was sadly needed requires no comment.

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[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), 1673, p. 180.

[2] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 222. Writing in 1680 to the Earl of Arran, Ormond also explained how he as Lord Lieutenant (1662-1669) applied the same principle of *divide et impera :* "My aim was to work a division among the Romish clergy, and I believe I had accomplished it, to the great security of the Government and the Protestants, and against the opposition of the Pope and his creatures and nuncios, if I had not been removed."—Carte : *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 101.

With characteristic energy he at once set himself to the work of reorganisation ; but he was soon interrupted by a new wave of persecution. Frightened by the English Parliament, Charles II. published in the autumn of 1673 an order recalling the few favours enjoyed by Catholics under the last two Viceroys. All bishops and regular clergy were commanded to leave the kingdom. Writing (November 13, 1673) to Ormond on the application of the new laws, Essex says :—

> The execution of the late address will, I conceive, put an end to all relating to those titular bishops, who now must quit the country ; and I hear that they are preparing to be gone in obedience to it. One thing I have of difficulty lying upon me in the matter of this address which I do not make known to any of my friends in England except your Grace. It is this. Soon after my coming hither Molony, the titular bishop of Killaloe, whom I look upon as the most dangerous, because the wisest man, of all their clergy, made a composure of all the differences which were amongst the men of religion, particularly of the disputes which were between the Primate and Peter Talbot, as also the dissensions between Col. Talbot and Col. FitzPatrick, and had upon the matter now made a union among them. I soon found that if this proceeded I should have no intelligences of their practices or acting, believing it to be one of the most important things I could do, both for His Majesty's service and the security of the Protestant subjects here, to keep the men divided or, if they were united, to break them again.[1]

In the edict published against the bishops and regulars there was a clause guaranteeing personal safety to all who enrolled their names in the magistrates' lists at the maritime ports. From a letter of Archbishop Plunket to the Internuncio in Brussels we know that O'Molony entered his name in Dublin.[2] He sailed once more for France, resumed the interrupted work of founding an Irish College in Paris, and this time succeeded. But that and other interesting events in his career will require a further article.

JAMES HOGAN.

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[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 222.

[2] Moran : *Memoir of Oliver Plunket*, p. 275.

# A SCHOOL IN INDIA.

BY T. GAVAN DUFFY,
Missionary Apostolic.

THE pagans yearning for Christianity and the Indians clamouring for schools make pictures equally alluring and equally false. The pagan does not desire Christianity, though it spells freedom; and the Indian does not wish for education, though, for lack of it, he is a slave.

But, emphatically, the pagans *need* Christianity, to supersede mere terror of erratic gods; similarly, they *must* have schooling, if ever they are to elude the tentacles of the money-lender and the Brahmin and the inevitable native subordinate employee of Government.

All this we gathered from the facts adduced in the article to which this is a sequel.[1] And we need hardly repeat that we are speaking of the Indian peasantry, ninety per cent. of the population—for towns are to the country what greenhouses are to the garden; the former's products are in advance of the latter's; they are not representative of general conditions, nor are they even fit to live without the artificial culture of their origin.

In town areas the Indian certainly does want schools; so much so that the schools are able to charge fees. Whether to serve the Government or to fight it (the alternatives before town ambition nowadays), instruction is essential; in the towns primary schools and secondary

[1] See STUDIES, December, 1919.

schools and universities are numerous and well-attended. But when I said that the Missioners' best contribution to the social uplifting of India was the school, it was not these town developments that I had in view. For the Indian is always something of a *déclassé*, when he is not on the land.

In the country districts, too, it may be concluded that the Indians want schools, when I say that every Missioner is constantly being waited on by noisy deputations, asking him to send a teacher to their village. Whenever he can comply with the request, he does so. And then? Immediately there follow two phenomena which amount to proof that the desire for schools evinced by the Indian peasantry is akin to the craving for devilled lobster on the part of a convalescent typhoid patient; it is a sign of recovery, but a fictitious desire. First, they will dismiss the idea of the school immediately if you suggest that they might help to pay the teacher; secondly, they will not send their children; the lobster remains untouched; and when, after a month's irregular attendance, the small boys are found not to be qualified for a remunerative position on the Railway or in the Educational Department, the parents suddenly realise the importance of having their cattle grazed—and the school expires.

To my thinking, what is chiefly the matter with India is precisely this attitude of the bulk of her people towards instruction. Her rulers complain of it, her nationalists deplore it, her missioners grow weary in their fight with it. But that fight is, I submit, "the Missioner's best contribution to the solving of India's problem."

Personally, I would favour compulsion in the matter of elementary education. I am not at all sure that I would not uphold the necessity of even feeding the children at noon, and that of compensating the parents for the loss of their children's earning-power (a penny or so a day). Even with compulsion (as I was assured by H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, who has introduced it in his State).

there is much truancy on the part of the children, and no co-operation on the part of the parents; without it there is passive resistance at the best, and, at the worst, open hostility. *Ignoti nulla cupido*; the peasant cannot see the use of literacy; and there is also the conservatism of the yokel raised to a power in the case of the tradition-fettered Oriental. But, on the other hand, compulsion will find an ally in the fatalism of the East. Now, whatever view the Administration may take of its own duties in this matter, the Missioner can (and, say I, should) exercise whatever measure of compulsion he can command within his personal sphere of influence.

Having suggested a remedy, we may now attempt to prove that it is a working one, and that therefore the case of India is not hopeless.

Let us take a concrete instance—a school that actually exists—to illustrate what can be done in a country district of India along these lines. We may call the school "St. Patrick's," and the locality "Viriyur," and the Missioner "Father Brady." The time, 1913 or thereabouts.

Viriyur is a Christian village, with a minority of pagan families to leaven it (for this element of opposition has a value in keeping the faithful up to the mark). Within a radius of two miles are three Christian settlements, offshoots of Viriyur, and half a dozen wholly pagan hamlets. The total population of the whole area is about four thousand souls.

Father Brady arrives at Viriyur, in succession to twenty years of Missioners or native priests whose pre-occupations concerned building the church, or converting new villages, or doctoring the sick, or improving the land, or arbitrating disputes, or any of the other interests that fill a Missioner's life in India, but who regarded school work as a luxury, and literacy as little short of a danger for their flock. And so Father Brady finds a barren school-master presiding, in a broken hut, over the slumbers of perhaps a dozen boys, too small as yet for raiment.

First he works up the school idea in a few straight sermons—and the attendance reaches twenty. Then he cuts down his own menu to rice and curry, and engages a second teacher; and begins to stay up late, writing to prospective benefactors for the means to build.

Next he goes through his *Status Animarum*, and draws up a list of all the boys eligible for school. On Sunday he calls a *panjayatt*, or Village Council; to the Conscript Fathers he announces that all the boys on the new list, numbering 155, *must* come to school. The C.F. are horrified; they protest. He smiles, and asks naively for the reason of their wrath; it is their good he seeks, and not his own. They tell him that the cattle must be grazed and the rice-fields irrigated.

There follows an important declaration of principles on Father Brady's part: Your children are to earn their living by the plough; trust me not to estrange them from the land; in school they will learn a few things about agriculture that will improve their chances; and whenever there is any pressing work upon the land there will be a free day for the asking. With these concessions, every boy on that list must come to school; if, however, there be a few whose work is absolutely necessary to the family, they must at least attend a class in arithmetic and religious doctrine once a week; such cases should be submitted to the panjayatt here and now.

Thenceforward, for a year or so, Fr. Brady kept his list perpetually in his pocket, and the universe revolved around it. Did Sakkariappen come to have his finger bandaged, operations were not begun until he had proved the regularity of his small boy at school. Did Ponnutambi request advice on the abstruse question of addressing a letter to a distant relative, he was met with the blankest look of unintelligence until he appealed to the school-attendance of his various heirs. And so the day soon dawned when the regulations of Fr. Brady in regard to the school came to be generally translated

into the unmistakable language of everyday convenience.

But the boys were not impressed by these considerations. For months each morning Fr. Brady would go out on horseback and arrest the first young truant that he detected behind a hedge; he would then place the youngster on the saddle and, with instructions from this terror-stricken guide, round up some dozen others and drive them in to school. This perhaps two or three times of a morning. A fairly regular hundred on the rolls very soon rewarded his perseverance. On Saturdays and Sundays the religious doctrine classes (always preceded by some exercises in mental calculation) soon gathered together all the Christian youth (such as were exempt from school) up to the age of marriage, which was, on an average, eighteen.

It was now time to organise the school so that it should be more attractive for the boys than cattle-grazing. Fr. Brady reflected on the value of *responsibility* in forming character, on all children's love of being given useful things to do, and of playing the parts of their elders. The following scheme was soon evolved and put into execution.

The organization of an Indian village calls for a headman and an accountant, with a village Council; these control the services of the *Kolkaren*, a sort of mitigated *garde-champêtre*. St. Patrick's school was endowed with an identical machinery. A head-boy and Council was chosen every month; and soon some thirty other officers were appointed, with a tenure of no more than a week, so that all might enjoy frequent terms of office.

A code was drawn up, making a clear distinction between breaches of the law of God (lies, theft, absence from Sunday Mass, etc.) and breaches of school discipline (unpunctuality, talking and the like); the former law was moral, the latter penal only. No boy was to be punished by a teacher, but every case was to be judged by the school Council, and entered on its register,

punishment being meted out by the *Kolkaren* for the week. The accountant, or *Kanukkapillai*, had the power to mitigate (or occasionally enhance) the sentence by reference to the good marks (or bad) that the accused had in reserve on the account-books. And though all power was given to the school-officials for the time of their tenure of office, all tale-bearing on the part of non-officials was visited with instant repression.

Some of the details of this scheme were quite exhilarating. The office of church-warden, *Kovilpillai*, implied going the round of the villages in the darkness of the morning, waking up the other boys and calling them to Mass; in the absence of clocks, the party would occasionally arrive at the church door between three and four A.M. and play marbles on the door-step, *en attendant*; but the sacrifice thus elicited was not without its value—and there was a daily average of forty communicants from St. Patrick's school, almost from the first.

The *Kolkaren* stood beside the head-boy when roll was called for school, and noted who were absent with, and who without, leave (leave always being given to individuals when they had work in the fields, and to the whole school when rain had fallen and the soil was ready for attention). Then he sallied forth with printed forms, signed by the head-boy, to ask the parents why their child had been kept at home. They were at first inclined to be offensive in their replies, but eventually began to realize that they were dealing with a system that meant business; if they could not write, they gave an oral answer which the *Kolkaren* took down—and the slip was filed with the school Council till the truant returned. If the cause of absence was ill-health, it was the *medicine-boy's* affair to go and see if the case was genuine, and to report real sickness to the priest. This same officer opened the dispensary each day, and applied such external remedies as were provided, sorting out the more serious cases for the priest's attention afterwards.

Often the parents tried to invade the school; but the *gate-keeper* was on the alert; he would make them stay by the school-garden gate while he carried their message to the head-master, thus saving fatal interruptions of the school's work. It has even been known that lordly inspectors have been kept standing at the gate while the necessary formalities for admission have been gone through.

Other offices were those of the *water-boys*, who went to the village well for water, kept the school drinking-vessels clean, and distributed drinks during the intervals between classes—incidentally learning not a little about the hygienic exigencies of that valuable article at a temperature of a hundred odd; of the *altar-boy*, who had to collect oil from the villagers to keep the lamp alight; of the *bell-man*, who developed rapidly a sense of the value of time and due esteem for punctuality; of the *referee*, who was in charge of balls and games; of the *gardener*, who directed operations in the school-garden and kept track of tools; of the *band-master*, who held the penny-whistle band together; of the *caretaker*, who was responsible for the furniture of the school; of the *curator*, who held the stock of chalk and brought to the teachers whatever specimens they needed from the school-museum —and so on; all these officers being changed each week, so that every boy might have a turn at whatever function was fitted to his age.

Sundry other details were arranged, suitable to local needs; but the reader now possesses a sufficient general idea of the workings of the scheme. The boys were trained to value local institutions, to feel the need of order, to exercise authority; in other words, they were grounded in the *elements of citizenship*.

And herein lies the value of this primary day-school (and its growing list of imitators), as those will promptly see who studied the social conditions outlined in the previous article. It is amazing how soon the boys began

to feel (and exercise) their power in the community, how promptly they played up to the role committed to them, and how universally they came to prefer the school to the jungle, and the book to the bullock. Of Christian boys alone the regular attendance soon reached 125.

But here a very grave danger became evident. While it was no doubt desirable that St. Patrick's School should produce a goodly crop of teachers and catechists, and even a few subjects fit to pursue further studies and embrace the professions or the priesthood, it was essential that the average boy should not be unfitted to earn his living in the fields. Accordingly, besides giving holidays whenever agriculture called for them, it was arranged that much time should be spent, at school, in practical experiments in cultivation. The school garden was made as large as possible ; every local crop was given separate space, and was cultivated in varying conditions simultaneously ; it was not by result that the boys' work was judged, but by intelligent recording of the reasons for results. For instance, John was cultivating pea-nuts without manure, Peter with chemicals, Paul with animal manure ; Joseph in red soil, Tom in black ; Paddy on ten buckets of water a day, Mike on only two—and so on, with a view to making clear the practical effects of each circumstance upon the crop. Tentatively a few rare vegetables were put down, but the chief interest centred round the best methods of growing the traditional things. Nor was any boy excluded from that work, even the infants being taught the light work of caring for banana-trees and flowers

The teachers were most anxious to have a well in the school garden ; but this was constantly refused, on the ground that so much of an Indian's time must be spent in the hard work of bringing water to his fields that it seemed unwise to get the children used to having the advantage of water that they had not brought to the land at the sweat of their brows ; and so various irrigation schemes were put in action, and the boys were taught to

use them and not to shirk the heavy labour they involve. Needless to say, the parents soon began to come and visit these experiments (outside school hours); the neighbouring pagans did the same. And when to the agricultural work was added the choice of training in carpentry or ironwork or bricklaying, as providing lucrative occupation during off-seasons, the heathens began to wish to send their boys to join the Christians in the school. From that day forth the victory was won, and it only remained to keep the level of the early days from being lowered by routine.

Fr. Brady soon had imitators, and, at the present writing, there are schools on the lines of St. Patrick's both for caste and out-caste villages; and I cannot imagine any more solid contribution to the improvement of social conditions in India—which is what I set out to illustrate.

There remains the problem of the girls; it must not be supposed that they are, by us as by the Indians, left out of count altogether. Beside every boys' school a girls' school will rise little by little—indeed we have many already. But the Missioners are limited in the execution of their ambitions by the lack of support from home; teachers must be paid (very little, God knows), and it is not on our monthly £2 of "salary" that such efforts can thrive—and the fact that we have to beg is, I suppose, explanation enough of our unpopularity with the home public, whom, none the less, we represent in heathendom.

As hinted above, the Missioners are not the only ones who believe in educating the Indians, while keeping them attached to the land; under the inspiration of the modern nationalist movement, new temples are springing up in every village, and a new cultus is being fostered, that of Mother Earth. So be it. If the Christian nations will not support their ambassadors in such constructive work as that described in the foregoing pages, let the pagan divinities be multiplied, in the hope that they may bring emancipation—but it is asking figs of thistles; paganism

has, inch by inch, dug the depths of India's degradation; selfishness and cruelty and avarice are still its offspring, and it is mere folly to look to lies for liberty.

The Editor of STUDIES would like me to give "some plain facts about the state of education" in this country. In a note to my article in the issue for last December, he cited the fact that only 9 per cent. of the men and only 3 per cent. of the women are literate. I grant all that; and I grant that the Administration has aimed chiefly at training Indians to fill its various offices; and I grant that nobody seems to have done anything to adapt primary education to the needs of the Indian farmer or to make him understand it. But are things any better in Siam, or in the Philippines, or in Tonkin? And will they be any better when (next year) Education is transferred to the native Government of India? Not unless the Editor of STUDIES can squeeze blood out of a turnip.

And he cannot. But he can help me to squeeze some life-blood for the Missions out of the intelligent reader. Nothing can be done for any Mission without schools; and nothing can be done for the schools without money; and whether I be a Missioner in Africa or in Asia, under an autonomous tyranny or under a foreign invader, my business is to "go and teach," and I cannot do it without support. Nor am I so much concerned with the shortcomings of an Administration that distrusts me and every Missioner from first to last, as I am with the failure of the home Catholics to realize their responsibility for conditions which can be remedied by the Missioner (if properly supported) far better than by any other agency.

Pondicherry, India. T. GAVAN DUFFY.

# THE ETHICAL ASPECT OF THE HUNGER STRIKE.

BY P. J. GANNON, S.J.

THE moving drama of Brixton jail[1] has again focussed attention on the question of the hunger-strike. And though the conscience of the Irish nation in general has by now come to endorse this method of protest against the evident and extreme injustice of British rule in Ireland, there are many individuals left who question the abstract morality of refusing food even unto death. A few considerations, therefore, on this vexed point may not be out of place.

It will make for clearness if we first set aside certain aspects of the question about which there can be little doubt No distinction is better known to moral theologians than that between the objective and subjective morality of an act. The former consists in its conformity with the divine law as such ; the latter in the conformity existing in the mind of the agent between his act and the divine law as he understands it to apply here and now. Under ordinary circumstances in the case of a well-instructed conscience the two norms of conduct correspond. Further, it is the duty of everyone to examine carefully his course of action in the light of objective principles and to make sure, as far as may be, that he is not the victim of hallucination. But it may happen, and, in the complexity of life, often does happen that a person can be in perfect good faith even where objectively

[1] Alderman T. MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, was arrested on August 12, while presiding over an arbitration court in the City Hall. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to two years' imprisonment on three charges :—(1) Having under his control a police cipher ; (2) having in his possession a document likely to cause disaffection (This was a resolution of the Cork Corporation pledging allegiance to Dail Eireann) (3) having in his possession a copy of a speech he made when elected some months previously (This speech had been published in the press at the time of its delivery). At the moment of writing (Sept. 4) he is in the twenty-third day of his hunger-strike.

the act is not conformable to divine law. In such a case the relations between the Creator and His creature are decided by the subjective dispositions of the latter, and sincere good faith redeems from guilt an act that may perhaps in itself harmonise but ill with the divine law. That the Irish hunger-strikers are in this disposition at least is too evident to need elaboration here.

But this does not solve the question as to whether in point of fact the hunger-strike violates the divine precept of self-preservation, that is to say, whether it involves the guilt of suicide. This is the problem.

Now we may clear the field of argument by setting aside the case of a person legally condemned by a legitimate and acknowledged authority to a just punishment. Whether a real criminal could have recourse to this method of escape need not detain us ; still less whether in such circumstances a legitimate government, acting according to legal forms, could let the guilty die. The whole essence of the present position is that an executive, repudiated by the Irish nation, claims the right to arrest and imprison, with entire disregard of constitutional forms, the very men who do represent the will of Ireland and are endeavouring to vindicate her liberties.

And this consideration invalidates at once the objection that the hunger-strike will make all legal sanction impossible. It will only kill at best the immoral and illegal sanction of bayonet law. Undoubtedly it is a new and very formidable weapon in the hands of weakness at bay and an ugly portent for the old imperialisms. But that it will weaken the arm of a legitimate government acting justly is neither demonstrated nor demonstrable.

We may further set aside the case of an innocent prisoner playing a game of bluff against an unjust executive and not intending to push the hunger-strike as far as death. It is hard to see how such a victim sins by the inception or continuance of the bluff, even though a certain

risk of unexpected collapse is involved. In a righteous cause a man can risk his life though he may not take it. Otherwise the heroes who sleep in Flanders, instead of in the garden cities promised at the General Election, would all be suicides, and even Mr. Shortt would resent this implication.

There remains the real difficulty. What if one is determined to carry the strike even to the point of death, or actually does so? Is this suicide? Now suicide is defined as *directa sui ipsius occisio*, the direct taking of one's own life. Some authors add the limiting clause *privata auctoritate suscepta*, undertaken on one's own authority, to avoid deciding against the opinion, which St. Alphonsus and others hold probable, that a person justly condemned to death may be empowered by the judge to execute sentence on himself. Suicide, so defined, is never lawful according to Catholic teaching. If therefore the refusal to take food is a direct slaying of oneself on one's own authority, it is indefensible. But is it this? It is needless to say that it could be suicide. To abstain from food *in order to put an end to one's life* would doubtless be sinful. The primary intention here is death, and abstinence from food is the means chosen to compass an illicit end. But no hunger-striker aims at death. Quite the contrary; he desires to live. He aims at escaping from unjust detention, and, to do this, is willing to run the risk of death—a very different frame of mind. And even if he carries the protest to its fatal conclusion, he is still not seeking death, of which he has no desire, not even as a means. His object is to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon an unjust aggressor to secure his release, and advance a cause for which he might face certain death in the field. There is nothing here of the mentality of a suicide, whose object is to escape from a life that has grown hateful to him.

In this context there are two passages of Suarez which help to elucidate the present problem. The first

is in his treatise *De Legibus* (bk. iii. ch. 30, n. 11)[1] which runs thus :—

A confirmation of this [*i.e.*, that the State can demand works of supererogation involving danger of death when the common good requires them] is found in the reply that the precept of self-preservation really involves two precepts, one negative which binds ever and always, namely, not to take one's own life, and against this human legislation can give no command ; the other positive, namely, to take steps to preserve life and avoid death, which does not always bind, but often can be neglected, not only to observe a law, but also in the interest of friendship or for other honourable reasons and causes ; and thus human legislation can oblige to the neglect of self-preservation on account of the observance of a law necessary for the common good.

Earlier in the same context (n. 10) he had written :—

In a case of extreme need from famine or shipwreck a person could lawfully subordinate his own interest and surrender bread or a spar to a friend in like emergency.

The second passage occurs in *De Legibus* (bk. vi. c. 7, n. 9)[2], where he is illustrating his contention that by *epikeia* a person is often excused from the observance of a law which involves too much hardship in the given circumstances. It may be rendered :—

Similarly a person justly condemned to death by starvation is not bound to abstain from food, if he can obtain it, though he may do so without sin, if he wishes. Thus in the Carthusian institute the precept of abstaining from flesh meats, even if it were a strict law binding of itself in conscience, could be neglected without sin on account of the danger of death, yet it is most probable that it could be observed even then if one wishes to use such rigour with oneself.

We have here from the *Doctor Eximius* a very pertinent distinction. The precept of self-preservation is two-fold : negative in so far as it forbids the direct action of self-slaughter, which is never permissible ; positive in so far as it imposes the duty of taking ordinary precautions to preserve life among which the taking of food is certainly included. But this precept, like all positive precepts,

[1] Vivès Edition, vol. 5, p. 296. [2] Vivès Ed., vol. 6, p. 32.

sometimes ceases to bind and can for sufficient reasons be neglected. Among the reasons he suggests are such relatively minor ones as to preserve a religious rule intact or serve a friend.

If we compare Lessius' *De Iustitia et Iure* (bk. ii. ch. 9, dubitatio 6), we find similar principles laid down. In No. 27 he writes :—

> I say in the second place that, though one may never slay oneself directly, it is lawful when there is a just reason, to do or omit something from which it is certainly foreseen that death will ensue indirectly. So hold in general the Doctors to be cited below. The reason is that it is not forbidden to a man ever to expose his life to danger, or commanded that he shall always endeavour to conserve it, but only forbidden to deliberately destroy it as distasteful to him, or to expose it to danger or cease to conserve it without reason, for then he would be held to end it intentionally.

In n. 29 he writes :—

> In the third place a man condemned to death by starvation can abstain from food secretly offered to him, as is rightly taught by Henriquez, Sotus, Lopez. It is strange that Arragon and Victoria deny this, while they hold that a criminal is bound to drink poison if condemned to do so. For one who drinks poison does an act directly causing his death ; whereas a person by not eating does nothing to himself, but only permits his life to be consumed by internal fever (calore), and merely fails to conserve his life, for which he has a sufficiently grave reason, that is to conform to a just sentence. And this is confirmed by the fact that if a person in extreme necessity had only food offered to idols at hand he might abstain from eating it, and prefer to die, as St. Augustine teaches (Letter 154 in fine). . . . Fourthly, if two are placed in extreme necessity, one can yield the other the bread by which he could preserve his life, and allow himself to die ; for he has a just reason for not eating, namely, the duty of charity towards his neighbour.

If charity towards a single individual be held an adequate reason for not eating and thus sacrificing life, it would seem that love of one's country, which is really charity towards the millions of one's countrymen, constitutes a far more valid excuse for neglecting the positive precept of preserving life. But it should be added that

if once we admit the distinction between an act directly destructive of life (which falls under the negative precept, "Thou shalt not kill") and the omission of an act necessary for life (which falls under the positive precept, "Thou shalt take ordinary means to sustain life"), the further question as to what constitutes a sufficient motive for neglecting the positive precept concerns primarily the persons who make the sacrifice. They may be foolish in thinking the liberty of Ireland worth a single life, though the liberty of Belgium was proclaimed worth millions of lives; they may be wrong in assuming that they are struggling for Irish liberty at all, though the error is shared by about 80 per cent. of their countrymen. What concerns us here is that, whether right or wrong in their political views, their action under the circumstances can hardly be called suicide.

The layman may find the distinction given above, on which the solution of the difficulty depends, hard to grasp. An example will make it clear. A Catholic is bound to profess his faith. This involves two things: first, the negative precept not to deny it, which he may never do even if loss of life or property be the result; secondly, a positive precept to make actual profession of it, which is not always urgent. Thus to-day in Belfast our harried co-religionists may not deny their faith, but they are certainly not bound to go about Sandy Row proclaiming, "I am a Papist." They could even disguise themselves under the dongarees of Workman and Clarke's rowdies in order to slip through the bigot lines and escape. That is to say, the obligation of the negative precept is never in abeyance; the obligation of a positive precept is sometimes in abeyance; it may lapse for adequate reasons.

The following example, also, is a close parallel to the hunger-strike. A woman whose honour was in danger might certainly throw herself into a river and try to swim across. Let us suppose now that Caliban cannot

swim and stands baffled on the bank, but that Miranda discovers when in the water that the current is too swift and the river too wide. What is she to do? Return to the bank where outrage awaits her? If she felt confident that she would give no internal consent, she might licitly do so. But is she bound? I think most moral theologians would deny such an obligation, and it seems fairly clear that she might commit herself to the current and thus perish a martyr of chastity.

Let us suppose, again, not a woman in danger of dishonour, but a despatch rider carrying very important despatches who similarly plunged into a stream to escape a patrol which cannot swim. Let us assume also he has no means of saving his life except by returning to the bank where the enemy awaits him and that in the water he can neither remove nor destroy the despatches. Must he swim back and perhaps lose a battle to his country? Surely not. Yet swimming back is for him as much an obligation as taking food is for a prisoner unjustly jailed. The parallel seems in its ethical aspect entirely complete; and if such a soldier would be deemed a hero and perhaps awarded the V.C. after death, on what grounds should any moral obloquy attach to the hunger-protest of the Irish political prisoners.?[1]

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[1] A leading article in *The Times* of September 2 may be cited in proof that even political adversaries attach no moral stigma to the hunger-strike:—"The Lord Mayor of Cork is still alive. Twenty days have elapsed since he began his hunger strike, but, if the reports of his friends are accurate, his death cannot be far distant. There is no sign of any change in the Government's declared purpose to let matters take their course; yet the volume of protest grows ever louder. It comes from many sources, which would have been silent had any complicity in Irish outrage been proved against him. Indeed, public feeling against the perpetrators of crime in Ireland has never been so strong. But the public, with its broad standards of fair play, demands no vengeance upon this individual. Despite the Government, the Lord Mayor of Cork has stirred imagination and pity. Argument on the merits of his case has become subordinate to those sentiments which the dramatic spectacle of a man confronting death for the sake of an ideal was certain to evoke among Christian people. Alderman MacSwiney, a man whose name was unknown outside his own city, will, if he dies, take rank with Fitzgerald, with Emmet, and with Tone in the martyrology of Ireland—his memory infinitely more eloquent and infinitely more subversive of peace than he himself could ever be. Beyond Ireland his death must sweep aside every petty argument and suspicion, and invest him with a dignity from which no subsequent explanations can ever detract."

# CHRONICLE.

## Recent Studies in Nationality.

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

SIDNEY HERBERT: *Nationality and its Problems* (Methuen. 1920. 5*s*. net).
JOHN OAKESMITH: *Race and Nationality* (Heinemann. 1920. 10*s*. 6*d*. net).
RENE JOHANNET: *Le Principe des Nationalités* (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. 1918. 12 fr. net).
ARTHUR KEITH: *Nationality and Race* (Milford. 1919. 2*s*. net).
W. B. PILLSBURY: *The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism* (Appleton. 1920. 12*s*. 6*d*. net).

DURING the past five or six years there has been, as might well be expected, a plentiful output of books, pamphlets, and articles dealing with the subject of Nationality in its various aspects. For there is little exaggeration in saying, with the latest book on the subject, that Nationality is *the* question with which Europe is confronted. Several important books have appeared within the last year or so, and, as Nationality is at the root of the Irish question, readers of STUDIES may be interested to know the views that are put forward and the conclusions reached in these books. It will not be possible to do much more in this chronicle than place on record the principal among these views and conclusions.

### WHAT IS A NATION[1]?

Before one can discuss the *raison d'être* of nations, the principle of nationality, or any kindred questions, it is necessary to reach some clear idea as to what we are to understand by the terms "nation," "nationality." For though there are sections of population which are obviously and admittedly nations, there are others whose nationhood is a debatable question. Let us begin, then, by definitions.

Perhaps the writer may be permitted to set down for purposes of comparison the definition which he put forward some eight years ago in the pages of STUDIES. It ran, but for slight verbal changes, as follows:—"A nation is a considerable body of population, living together in a common territory in organised social

[1] For the writer, as for most of those here reviewed, a nation is a body of men possessing nationality. The definition of the latter term is, therefore, involved in the definition of the former. It is confusing, if not incorrect, to speak of "a nation" and "a nationality," as if they were both concrete terms, especially when a distinction is made between the two. It must be confessed that this usage is now very common.

relations and held together in spiritual oneness firstly by common memories of historic things achieved and suffered in common in the past, and secondly by the actual consent to carry on that common life as a distinct people, master of its own destinies." This definition is recognised as being lengthy and somewhat clumsy; but, such as it is, it still substantially represents the writer's view. Many nations have other assets, other bonds than these—statehood, a national language, a common culture or peculiar type of civilisation. But not all are so endowed, and the definition, in the writer's view, represents the minimum without which a given body of people is not a nation. This said, let us pass to the definitions of the writers under review.

Mr. Sidney Herbert, lecturer in the National University of Wales, starting from what a nation must have in common with all social groups, viz., consciousness of kind, and comparing it successively with various social groups that are less—or more—than nations, reaches the following definition :—

> A nation is a social group, bound together by a consciousness of kind which springs from the tradition evoked by the group's historic past, and is directly related to a definite home-country.

However some remarks on p. 39 give us to understand that the author considers as practically essential to the concept of a nation "consciously exercised will," the will to be and to act as *one*, the consent to continue the common life. Be it added that Mr. Herbert's discussion of the question is admirably lucid and, on the whole, convincing.

For Mr. Oakesmith a nation is "an organic continuity of common interest," a definition which, at first sight, is startlingly different from the two just recorded. But Mr. Oakesmith explains that by interest he understands everything in which men are interested—their physical, intellectual, moral, and artistic activities, and the outcome or products thereof. "Organic" implies that this body of population has developed machinery for entering into relations with its environment. And "continuity" signifies that a nation, to be indeed a nation, must have a history and must have, as it were, grown out of that history, must have its roots in the past. Finally, he expands his definition as follows :—

> Nationality is a community of interest developed in course of time into a characteristic national culture which gradually creates for itself machinery, legislative, administrative, and other, for effecting its ends in the world of human action.

M. René Johannet essays a vaster synthesis. He aims at embracing within his definition the nation not only, as philosophers

say, *in facto esse* but also *in fieri*, that is in the various stages of its evolution. Here is his formula :—

> Une nationalité (cette définition recouvre à la fois la nation et la nationalité) est l'idée d'une personnalité collective, variable d'inspiration, de conscience, d'intensité, et de grandeur, relative à l'Etat, soit qu'elle représente un Etat unifié disparu, soit qu'elle coincide avec un Etat unifié existant, soit qu'elle aspire ou se prête à former un Etat unifié futur, et qui cherche dans des caractéristiques naturelles d'origine la justification de son identité comme de ses prétentions.

This definition, the shortcomings of which its author recognises, has the merit of basing itself not on *a priori* theories but upon historic facts, and of recognising the possibility of a given people growing towards, or falling away from, national consciousness.

> By nation [says Mr. Pillsbury, looking at the matter from the psychological standpoint] we mean a group of individuals that feels itself one, is ready within limits to sacrifice the individual for the group advantage, that prospers as a whole, that has a group of emotions experienced as a whole, each of whom rejoices with the advancement and suffers with the losses of the group.

All of which is, it would seem, a way of saying that the group has attained to a certain degree of what I have ventured to call "spiritual oneness."

But why define the term nation ? For the general reason that in discussion the definition of terms makes for clearness of thought, and for the special reason that in discussions on the principle of nationality and on self-determination no valid conclusion can be reached without an understanding as to the nature of nationality, as to what constitutes a nation. France and Spain are nations ; but is the Ukraine a nation ?

### Elements or Factors of Nationhood.

What are the forces that contribute on the one hand to weld a people into unity and on the other to mark it off as a people distinct from its neighbours ? In the pamphlet already referred to the present writer essayed an answer under the following heads :—(1) Physical environment or *milieu*, (2) race, (3) a national language, (4) custom, *i.e.*, social habits and usages, tradition, (5) religion, (6) common interests, (7) history and the men who have made it, (8) a national government, statehood.

It will not be possible to deal severally with all of these nation-making forces. I select three. It may have been noticed, possibly with some surprise, that in none of the definitions given above is there mention of unity of race, national language, or national government, as essential constituents of the idea of a nation. What relation do these three factors bear to nationality ?

To begin with *race*, the writers under review are almost unanimous in rejecting the theory which finds in race the chief constituent of nationality. The race theory, in its extreme form, might be summed up as follows :—

(1) The transmission from father to son of a set of fixed physical characteristics, *e.g.*, size, shape of head, colour of hair and eyes, complexion, cast of features.

(2) The transmission, also by heredity, of a set of unalterable moral characteristics. Allowing for individual variations, these moral and physical characteristics constitute a fixed racial type.

(3) The presence, due to heredity, of unmixed blood and consequently of a fixed racial type in large homogeneous masses of population, these homogeneous masses constituting nationalities. The falsity, not to say absurdity, of this conception of nationality as applied to modern European nations, had (one might have thought) been proved to demonstration by such writers as J. M. Robertson[1] and Jean Finot.[2] But no doubt it has still, and will continue to have, its partisans. And it is well that the writers under review have grappled with it once more.

"In the strict sense," says Dr. Keith, "in which the anthropologist uses the term race, there is in Europe no racial problem. Our universal disturbances are those of nationality." Unfortunately he proceeds to argue that our modern national and racial troubles are simply the outcome of our tribal instincts acquired during the million or more years of human pre-history. Moreover he considers that the Jews are an exception to the general principle inasmuch as they are a practically unmixed race. Mr. Oakesmith deals expressly with the Jews as a test case which, in his view, is no exception to the general falsity of the racial theory, or if, to a certain extent, an exception, but serves to show the all but universality of the rule. His argument seems convincing (pp. 56-75.): "If nationality depended on race there would be no nationality in Europe to-day." Such is his well-justified conclusion.[3] Mr. Herbert's is similar. Pointing out the absurdity and often the injustice of explaining a people, not by its history, political circumstances, opportunities, etc., but by inherent qualities of race—the Latin decadent, the Slav politically incapable, the Irish lazy and mendacious, the Anglo-Saxon sordid—he says: "We may safely dismiss the theory that race is a contributory factor in the

[1] *The Saxon and the Celt*, and *passim* in other works, notably *The Germans*.

[2] *Race Prejudice*.

[3] He says (p. 50): "The essence of the racial theory, especially as exhibited by writers of the school of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, is profoundly immoral, as well as unnatural and irrational."

development of the idea of nationality" (p. 13). There is such a thing as national character; permanent racial type is, as regards European nations at least, a myth or a metaphysical idea. M. Johannet seems to make some concessions to the race theory (p. 367), but he is using the word not in the sense in which we speak of those abstractions, the Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic races, but in the sense in which we speak of the French race, the Irish race, etc. Even using the word in this sense, he says (p. 405, footnote): "La race se sépare de la nationalité par un abîme." The former is a zoological entity. It is, as we might say, a breed. And he devotes two chapters to refuting the German idea of nationality, which is based on the ethnographic or race theory.

As to the importance of the rôle played by a *national language* upon the formation and the preservation of nationality, most of these writers are emphatic. Mr. Sidney Herbert (p. 46) considers that this importance is so obvious as to need no demonstration. "As long," says M. Johannet, "as a people fosters its mother tongue it can raise itself, if circumstances be favourable, to nationhood and then to statehood, and scarcely any national re-awakening has been known to take place without its being preceded by a linguistic revival." And again, "the soul of a people, the secret of its being and of its consciousness, dwells in large measure in its language, which is an immaterial bond, an unostentatious yet all-powerful unifier." And there is much else that is worthy of quotation.[1] On the other hand all these writers are agreed that, as Mr. Oakesmith expresses it, "nothing is more fallacious as a test of identity of race than identity of language" (p. 48), and what is true of race is still more obviously true of nationality. German-speaking Alsatians have long been intensely French in nationality; German, French, and Italian speakers are all equally Swiss: there are speakers of Basque and of Flemish on both sides of the French frontier, French-speaking communities in Italy, and so on—to say nothing of our own case in Ireland.[2] I take occasion hereby to recommend to those desirous of seeing clearly in this matter a study of the excellent maps in *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe* (1917) by Léon Dominian. This book sheds much light on the problems of nationality that are at present exercising the ingenuity of European statesmen.

Next there is the relation of nationality to *national government.* The question may be formulated thus: That a given people may be

[1] I have not seen the bonds between national language and nationality set forth anywhere more strikingly than in an article by J. Guibert which appeared in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* in 1913 (tome xvii., p. 893).

[2] Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

rightly considered to be a nation, must it be in possession of statehood? The answer would seem obvious. To say that, if tomorrow France were deprived of its statehood or national government, France would cease to be a nation, is surely absurd. "State and nation," says G. L. Beer, "are two fundamentally distinct concepts. The former is an exclusively politico-legal concept, and, roughly, is merely a definite segment of manhood united in one body politic. On the other hand, the nation is etymologically an ethnical, but more accurately a cultural concept, and is a similar portion of humanity bound together by other than mere political ties."[1] It must be acknowledged that the distinction is not much more than one hundred years old, yet it is now so universally recognised that M. Johannet can say (p. 405 in footnote): "Inutile d'insister sur la différence de l'Etat et de la nationalité." It follows from this distinction that a nation may be subordinated to a foreign state, may even accept this status, without thereby losing its nationhood. It is our own case. Ireland has at various periods accepted, at least passively, incorporation in the English state: I do not think it can be maintained that the mass of the Irish people and its accredited heads ever accepted English nationality. "Our country," "this country" has always meant in the spontaneous thought of the vast majority of its inhabitants, of whatever racial origin, Ireland and Ireland alone. Which of us in the past or the present—if we except some comparatively recent immigrants, and these only for the last hundred years—has ever thought of himself or spoken of himself as British. But if this be true, some of the main arguments set forth in a recent book fall to the ground.[2]

The following passage from the *Times Literary Supplement* for August 15, 1918,[3] seems to formulate admirably the relations between State and Nation:—

> The State may be made, the sense of nationality cannot; it must grow. Force, brutal and unrestrained, may by annexation impose a government upon a people, and may give them not merely order, but many social advantages which they did not before possess. But men want more than bread and order, facilities for money-making and security that they will die in their beds. Their rulers will try in vain to cast out or appease the unsatisfied spirit of nationality which looks back with longing on the earlier conditions of things, forgetful of the evil incidents of the reality. The State is a clumsy materialist creation; nationality is a spiritual creation not made by hands. The former may be, and often is, a mere tax-collecting machine, towards which there can be as little affection as to a waterworks or drainage or sewage system doing useful work. Only when the State is the embodiment of a nationalty does it call forth that devotion of which the King, visible to his subjects, their father or their shepherd, was once the object.

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[1] *The English-Speaking Peoples*, p. 43.

[2] *Questions of Peace and War*, by Rev. W. McDonald, D.D. (London, 1919.)

[3] In a review of Prof. Alfred Zimmern's *Nationality and Government*.

### The Principle of Nationality.

"In its earlier and simpler form the principle of nationality is simply the assertion of the right of a nation to be independent." It was the principle recognised, for instance, by Western Europe in helping the revolt of Greece against the Turk and the revolt of Italy against the Austrian. It has been one of the main factors of European history since 1815.[1] It is one of the principal after-the-War problems.[2] It may be formulated somewhat more precisely thus: Every people which possesses Nationhood has thereby a right to Statehood (or in M. René Johannet's phrase, *Là où il y a une nationalité là doit être un Etat*), such Statehood implying, not necessarily complete independence, but at least self-government, the guidance of its own destinies. This principle has often been taken as covering the case of an *irredenta*, as involving, that is to say, the right of a section of population to detach itself from the State of which it forms a part, in order to attach itself to another State which it regards, or affects to regard, as its mother-country. But this is surely a wholly different principle and does not concern us here. It was the case of the Trentino before the war: it is the case of Fiume now.

The principle of nationality as formulated above is, theoretically, simple and clear. Its application, however, may be difficult. For, in the first place, supposing this right to Statehood admitted, what rank does it hold in the hierarchy of rights? Is it a paramount right outranking all other rights—treaty rights, rights of prescription, and so forth—or must it, on occasion, give way before higher rights? And to what extent may political and economic considerations counterbalance the claim to nationhood? Secondly, there may be difficulty in determining when a people is in possession of that oneness (resulting from the various nation-making forces above enumerated) which makes of it a moral personality. This difficulty, indeed, is more apparent than real; for, as a rule, the people itself will solve the question in a manner that can leave no room for doubt as to its possession of a living national personality.

Of the writers under review three combat, on various grounds, the legitimacy of the principle of nationality. Mr. Herbert would have all peoples cultivate their national distinctiveness, nationality being to a people what personality is to a man. But he would rule it out of the world of politics.[3] Political nationalism, aiming at

[1] *Nationality in Modern History*, by J. Holland Rose.

[2] *Nationality and the War*, by Arnold Toynbee.

[3] It is obvious that he is considerably influenced by the dictum of Lord Acton, one of the most learned men and one of the most confused thinkers of our time, that "the theory of nationality is more absurd and more criminal than the theory of Socialism" (*History of Freedom*, p. 300).

the creation of uni-national states, is, he holds, impossible and undesirable (p. 161). To study the evils of political nationalism he has to isolate it. The Italian, Polish, Irish, Greek national movements he sets aside as not being purely and solely national: other forces (religious, economical, political, etc.) were at work therein. As examples of "political movements essentially national in character" he takes Prussia and Hungary, suggesting (p. 133) that others equally convincing could be given, *e.g.*, attempts to Russify the Poles and attempts to Anglicize the Irish and the Welsh. Such examples, he contends, "justify the generalization that a political policy directed by purely nationalist aims is inevitably oppressive."

Sweeping as such a generalization is, his conclusion goes quite beyond it. His examples are surely instances not of the normal working of the national idea but of the diseases of nationalism—megalomania, chauvinism, imperialism.[1] Yet he concludes against the legitimacy of national aspirations in subject peoples. The fact, however, of these national aspirations constitutes a problem which demands a solution. Mr. Herbert suggests the international guarantee of the rights (racial, religious, linguistic) of national minorities, without disturbance of the political *status quo*. This is to evade, not to solve, the problem. For it ignores the essential distinction between peoples who, like the Bretons and the Catalans, do not, and peoples who, like the Irish and the Poles, do, aspire to Statehood; the distinction, in other words, between a province and a nation.

The solution offered by M. Johannet is different. He sees a remedy in federalism. To make a new Europe on the principle of nationalities would be to destroy the old Austrian Empire only to create a number of little Austrias, each with its subject nationalities—Ireland with its Ulster, Poland with its Lithuanians, Ruthenians and Jews, Bohemia with its Germans, and so forth. Better let the big states group the little states around them in a loose federal framework on the model of the United States or of the British Empire. The flaws in such a solution are so numerous and so obvious that one wonders at first how a writer so gifted as M. Johannet could think of it for a moment. But wonderment ceases as we read on and discover the reasons for this solution. Austria in some form or other—une Autriche quelconque—is necessary lest all Germans should unite: therefore let Austria become a federation. On the other hand Germany as a unified,

[1] The same remark applies to M. Johannet's "*Où donc la nationalité n'apporte-t-elle pas avec soi, avec le besoin de la liberté, l'ambition, le dépit, la soif de la domination et de la vengeance ?*"

centralised State is dangerous: therefore let Germany become a loose and ineffective federation.

In proposing this solution M. Johannet seems to lose sight of two facts. One is that no federation has ever yet succeeded which was not a union of states having the *same* nationality. Moreover a "federation" between the wolf or the lion (even the tamest of lions) and the lamb has hitherto resulted in the benefit of one only of the contracting parties. In the second place, as has been pointed out in an otherwise favourable critique of M. Johannet's book,[1] he has ignored the relations of the individual to the State. It seems to the present writer that M. Johannet's theory falls to pieces in face of this one simple fact. A man has but one country, fatherland, *patrie*—call it what you will. All his loyalty, all his patriotism is for that one country. For that country and for that alone can the normal man be called upon to sacrifice his life. Now, whatever may be said of earlier times, it is surely the tendency of modern times to identify one's country, *la patrie*, with the nation as distinct from the State. And, when a man finds himself citizen of a State which is not identified with his nation, sooner or later there will be a conflict of loyalties, and there is little doubt as to which loyalty is likely to carry the day.

Unlike M. Johannet and Mr. Herbert, Mr. Oakesmith sees in nationality not only "the most pregnant fact of modern political evolution," but "one of the most sacred and dominating inspirations of life."

Many other interesting questions are discussed in the course of these volumes. We must content ourselves with the bare mention of a few, such as the relation of nationality to peace and war (Oakesmith), various theories of nationality, notably the French and the German theories (Johannet), nationalism and the League of Nations (Oakesmith and Herbert), Sionism (Johannet), other factors of nationality such as history, religion, literature, geography, tradition, etc., the psychology of national character, and so on.

### Ireland.

Ireland is not dealt with expressly in any of the books under consideration. But some interesting references to us will be found scattered through them. For instance, M. Johannet refers to the Czecho-Slovaks as *ce petit peuple opiniâtre—aussi opiniâtre que l'Irlande*—an indication of the impression produced upon foreigners by our long national struggle. Elsewhere (pp. xix-xxi.) he gives a brief and accurate but colourless résumé of the Sinn Féin move-

[1] In *La Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, vol. 29, p. 729.

ment during the war. *Le vrai nationalisme irlandais*, he says, *c'est le sinn-feinisme.* He mentions Ireland incidentally as an obvious example of a nationality, by which he means a nation. But he takes up the position that "Ulster" stands in the same relation to Ireland as Ireland itself to the British Isles. But has "Ulster" ever been, or even claimed to be, a nation?

Mr. Sidney Herbert has little to say of Ireland. He would have us foster a cultural but non-political nationality, in the manner of Wales.

Mr. Oakesmith's references to Ireland are even more meagre. Nationality arising, in his view, out of community of interest, the present attitude of Ireland may be accounted for as follows:—"Just so far as the pressure of circumstances and the conscious action of men have failed to produce a strong sense of common interest, just to that extent has the sense of common nationality [with England] been weak and halting, as at most periods in the history of Ireland." He has no more than that to say about us.

But the question as to whether Ireland is entitled to be considered a nation and consequently entitled to the application in her case of the principle of nationality has of course been discussed within the last few years countless times and from many different points of view.[1] As examples of opposing points of view two recent books may be instanced. The first, *Questions of Peace and War*, has been already referred to. The view set forth in it is that Ireland is not and never has been a nation because she has always lacked one or other of what the author regards as two essential "requisites of nationhood"—unity of rule and independence. The other book is Mr. Robert Lynd's *Ireland A Nation* (Grant Richards, 1919). Herein Ireland's claims to nationhood are set forth in a fashion that is at once telling and attractive. The matter is dealt with both in its historical bearings (Chapters II—V.) and in the present phase of its evolution. This latter aspect is of paramount importance; for, even if it could be proved (which I believe impossible) that at no point in our past might Ireland legitimately lay claim to nationhood, our claim to be a nation to-day might none the less hold good.

S. J. Brown.

[1] The writer may perhaps be pardoned for referring to his own pamphlet on the subject (now out of print)—viz.: *The Question of Irish Nationality* (Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1912).

# REVIEWS.

## Biography.

*THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.* By Norwood Young. London: Constable. 1919. 21*s.* net.

THIS is professedly a biography of one of the most celebrated statesmen and warriors of the *ancien régime.* But if regard is paid to its spirit rather than to its subject-matter, one is compelled to classify it as "war-literature." It is difficult to avoid the feeling that its purpose is less to throw light on the ally of England in the eighteenth century than to accentuate and account for the iniquity of her foe in the twentieth. Certainly, excess of patriotic fervour and that intense hatred of Germany produced by the late war seem the most worthy excuses for this very one-sided characterisation of Frederick. And this one-sidedness is such a striking feature that it outweighs such merits as the book undoubtedly shows, and nullifies the diligence with which the author has consulted first hand authorities.

Whether the polemics of the book, now that the great danger has passed and other problems have begun to present themselves for solution, are anything more successful than its historical science, may be open to question. The author's undoubted gifts as prosecutor might be turned to more living questions. He surely underestimates the practical genius of his countrymen, and that magnanimity which allows them to take a gentler view of a foe deprived of the power to hurt, coupled with an impartiality which opens their eyes to the faults of those allies who shared the victory and have thereby become potential rivals. Yet the reader's heart will be cheered when he meets again in their full vigour these high principles with which the last six years have made him so familiar, and recognises that the hand of the propagandist has lost none of its sureness of touch. If after his recent education in this respect he is often deceived by their very one-sided application his critical acumen is at fault. Yet in some instances he may be misled. It may not be easy to convince him that Frederick's political maxims were morally much worse than those of the great statesmen of his own, or indeed of most other ages. But he will probably be less on his guard when he finds Frederick's political conceptions and institutions measured according to current fashions

and found wanting, and when he finds condemned as characteristically Prussian what was in full accord with the "enlightened" and advanced views of the eighteenth century.

The whole drift of the book is to deprive Frederick of any claim to the title "the Great," which both his own and subsequent generations, Prussians and foreigners, have bestowed upon him. The author, it is true, in the concluding chapter acknowledges the validity of Frederick's claim; but such generosity or inconsequence is out of keeping with the whole reasoning of the book, and gives the shadow after having withheld the substance. For Mr. Norwood Young's real verdict is as follows:—Already as a prince, at the age of sixteen, Frederick had shown himself extravagant, irreligious, dissolute and foppish. Two years later we find him shifty and false. He was a bad son, and later he proved himself a bad brother and a bad husband. His treatment of his wife "must be reckoned as the blackest of all the black spots on his memory." As a grown man he retained most of these vices of his youth, and added abundantly to them. The reader of this biography may well doubt whether he was successful in any other role than that of a collector of vices, public and private. He is described as slovenly and dirty, an essentially mean man, a blackguard, one who deserted his post in the hour of trial to return to it when prospects improved. Treachery came natural to him, he was incapable of acting honourably, and can hardly be equalled in treachery and falsehood except by that other Hohenzollern of whom Prussia is so proud, the Great Elector. "Hypocrisy and fraud were the outstanding features in his character." A Machiavelli, but not an open, honest Machiavelli like the great Italian, but a furtive and secret one. His diplomacy was false and treacherous beyond description. He was a desperate and brazen liar and cheat; beside him Louis XV. was an honourable man, and though he was the prime fomenter of trouble and ill-will in Europe he was but a very mediocre soldier. Except on a few occasions he showed himself to be a poltroon, coward and craven, who gave unexampled instances of faint-heartedness. Being an empty braggart, he was more anxious about his reputation than about solid fruits of victory. The blame was for others, the praise always for himself. Even his ability as a general has been much overrated. For though he was capable of learning from experience, as a strategist, tactician, and army leader, he was on the whole of very poor stuff indeed. His conduct was characterised by barbarism, cruelty and callous inhumanity; he justly merited the title of "the Attila of the North," "the Chief of the Huns."

After this vigorous summing up, the reader need not be startled by the final verdict. "He was not merely mischievous and dangerous; he was what we call 'a bad man.'"

But many of these repulsive vices were not peculiar to himself; some are characteristic also of his dynasty as a whole, others of his nation.

The better to assist the reader to give due appreciation of his many sided wickedness a foil is provided in the upright and honourable conduct of Frederick's chief ally during the Seven Years War. The ordinary account which accuses England of deserting her ally is proved groundless. It was really the other way about; the treachery was all on Frederick's side. The reader will be all the more edified at this, as he will see here an instance of virtue being rewarded; for he will remember, though Mr. Young lays no stress on it, that in this war, which decided the struggle for Colonial supremacy in England's favour—among other gains she got Canada and predominance in India—the truly terrific losses of the war were borne by Frederick, who got no increase of territory. Thus the virtuous got all the spoils, whilst the wicked ally got cruelly mauled and went away empty handed. J. M. O'S.

*DAVID URQUHART.* By Gertrude Robinson. Oxford: Blackwell. 1920. 25*s.* net.

Irishmen should feel a natural sympathy with David Urquhart in so far as he was essentially a rebel against English conventional opinions—not least where Ireland was concerned—and English standards of public morality. The unyielding antagonist of Lord Palmerston, the consistent denouncer of Russia and all her ways, Urquhart had neither the vices nor the virtues of the great middle class whose conceptions largely dominated Victorian England. His love of adventure, his lofty idealism, even his overbearing peremptoriness all came to him from his Highland ancestry, and from it likewise came one of his most unexpected characteristics, his power of leadership over working-men. His secret was to deal with them as man to man. He practised in the West what he had learnt in the East: a recognition of man's essential dignity. At a time when all England belauded machinery, Urquhart, almost alone, understood many of the evils the industrial revolution was bringing about. Hence for the greatness of modern England in its ordinary acceptation he had only scorn: his ideals of national well-being were to be sought rather in the East of his day and in the Europe of the Middle Ages.

Why this ably-written volume is so singularly apposite is that to-day Europe is reaping the evil harvest that, with his prophetic vision, Urquhart foresaw. Briefly his stormy career was devoted to two aims: to destroy secret diplomacy and by securing the recognition of the Law of Nations to re-establish international relations on a basis of justice and honesty. In both he failed, and the great war has been the price of failure. It was his own brief diplomatic career, mainly at Constantinople, which opened his eyes to the evils of our diplomatic methods. He saw too how completely people at home were at the mercy of the equivocations and discreet reticences of the Foreign Office, and yet how intimately the welfare of every home in England was affected by our foreign policy. We can see to-day, far better than his contemporaries, how infinitely right he was. The remedy David Urquhart devised was the organisation all over the country of Foreign Affairs Committees, groups of working-men who were first to be thoroughly instructed in the right principles of international relations and then to bring effective pressure to bear on their Government. Only a man of his keen vision and dauntless energy could have conceived so vast a scheme and have won for it so considerable a measure of success. He enlisted ardent and devoted helpers in all ranks. Urquhart's disciples were indeed the élite of the people. All who came in contact with the men who had passed through the stiff training he planned for them were amazed at their accurate political knowledge and, still more, at the breadth and idealism of their views. Nor was their attitude an academic one. During the twenty years these committees flourished, mainly in the North of England, their members were busy protesting now against the invasion of Afghanistan, now against the Chinese war, presenting petitions to Parliament, asking questions of Ministers and above all trying to circumvent Lord Palmerston. The ultimate collapse of this noble enterprise has in it an element of tragedy, for the failure lies partly at Urquhart's own door. To his brilliant gifts of leadership he united an intolerance of temper, the result partly of ill-health, which in time alienated most of those who had been eager to work under him. He had all the saint's sternness for self, but none of the saint's gentleness for others.

The latter years of Urquhart's life were taken up with an enterprise that must always remain of vivid interest to Catholics. Foiled in all his efforts to re-build the diplomacy of Europe on a basis of justice, he resolved to appeal to Rome to re-affirm publicly the Law of Nations. Protestant as he was and as he remained to the end, he yet saw in the Papacy the one spiritual power capable

of regenerating Europe and the most effectual barrier to the schemes he attributed, rightly or wrongly, to Russia. In Urquhart's eyes Pius IX. was the most heroic figure in Europe. His own characteristic refusal to worship at the popular shrines of Garibaldi and Mazzini had deprived him in London of his last shred of political influence. But on the Continent his position was a strangely authoritative one. At his summer home, high up in the mountains of Savoy, he came into contact with many distinguished French Catholics—Père Gratry, Le Play, Bishop Dupanloup and others—and largely through them he was led to the study of Canon Law. In the summoning of the Vatican Council he saw his opportunity, and it was wholly due to him that the Armenian Bishops sent a solemn petition to the Council for the restitution of the Law of Nations. Urquhart at once hurried to Rome, and the months he spent there during the sitting of the Council provide the material for the most absorbing chapters of the book. We think Miss Robinson would have rendered her story more intelligible to some if she had woven it into the form of a more consecutive biography. She is apt to assume greater knowledge of the period than many of her readers will possess. But this is the only blemish to a singularly attractive study of a great personality too soon forgotten among us. V. M. C.

## Economics.

*AN ESSAY ON MEDIÆVAL ECONOMIC TEACHING.* By George O'Brien, Litt.D., M.R.I.A. London: Longmans. 1920. 12*s.* 6d. net.

For the third time in rapid succession we are happy to be able to congratulate Mr. O'Brien on a magnificent and most useful study in Economic History. The scope of the present volume is somewhat different from that of the preceding two. But certainly the work is no less important in itself and no less excellently accomplished. With admirable clearness the author sets before us the mediæval teaching on the Possession, Administration, Acquisition and Exchange of Property. These he rightly claims to be the cardinal questions of Mediæval Economics. Through them we are enabled to get a unified, consistent grasp of the content and spirit of mediæval economic theory. The ablest and most representative contemporary authorities are fully and carefully examined, nor is any modern writing neglected which could help to throw light on this difficult and much debated subject. The

result of his labour is presented so lucidly, in well ordered, consecutive chapters, that one is apt to overlook the diligent research and extensive study which it represents. It would be difficult to take serious exception to any of his conclusions, although I am not fully satisfied myself that adequate justice has been done to the outlook of the mediæval theologians on Slavery.

Had Mr. O'Brien been writing solely for Catholics, or for a country mainly Catholic such as Ireland, he would not have felt called on to offer a half apology for his Essay or to explain its appearance on the ground that the study of mediæval theory is essential to the proper understanding of modern economics. The divorce between ethics and economics is not leading to a material paradise, but rather to a condition of industrial and social anarchy. And as the enlightened leaders of the Tractarian Movement realised that it was necessary to go back to the pre-Reformation Church in England if the Christian character of the English Church was to be preserved, so also the most eminent sociologists of to-day realise that it is necessary to go back and link up with the Christian economics of pre-Reformation days, if European civilisation, which was fashioned and developed according to Christian ethical principles, is to be preserved.

But Mr. O'Brien reasonably aspired to influence a wider and more general audience—an audience from which, although economic theory has failed hopelessly and reconstruction of some kind is inevitable, there is as yet little chance of securing a favourable hearing for mediæval economic theory. Cardinal Newman has enabled us to realise how much prejudice is the life of the Established Church in England. Prejudice of the same kind, inspired and calculated, has been made to do similar service for what may be called the established economic system, which in so many respects appears the natural concomitant of the religious Reformation in England. For obvious reasons also the economic and social prejudice is much more widely extended than the religious. Even Catholics sometimes show a sort of superstitious shrinking from every system and institution to which the fabled taint of Mediævalism has been attached. It is not strange, therefore, that Mr. O'Brien should guard against this prejudice by insisting at the outset on the necessity of studying mediæval theory even for the proper understanding of modern economics.

However, having conceded so much to popular prejudice, he immediately continues: "We venture to assert that the study of canonist economics, far from being useful simply as an introduction to later theories, is of great value in furnishing us with

assistance in the solution of the economic and social problems of the present day." A conclusion to which every thoughtful reader of the present Essay will heartily assent. Not that we can expect to find in mediæval theory a ready-made solution for all our modern problems. But that theory as interpreted by Mr. O'Brien brings us face to face with the eternal principles of justice on which our economic relationships should be based. It is significant that economic questions were almost invariably approached by the Scholastics from an ethical standpoint. For them the fundamental thing was that in our social and economic relations with one another we should be guided by the laws of right human conduct. In the next place, it was insisted on that the economic order should be subject to human welfare: "Mediæval economists insisted that all production and gain which did not lead to the good of man were not alone wasteful, but positively evil, and that man was infinitely more important than wealth." Thus all economic institutions and relations were tested by their conformity with the rights of men regarded as independent individuals and members of society.

"The application of ethics to economic transactions was rendered possible by the existence of one universally recognised code of morality, and the presence of one universally accepted moral teacher." That is a most important truth. But it also suggests a difficulty. Unless ethics is to be applied to economic transactions it is vain for us to be trying to learn anything from the Middle Ages, and where can we find a universally recognised code of morality to-day or one universally recognised moral teacher? It may be said that nothing can be done, until the authority of the Church is restored to the position it enjoyed in the Middle Ages. But that would commit us to wait indefinitely before we could make any practical use of the lessons of Mediæval Economics. Mr. O'Brien himself, to a certain extent, suggests an answer in a consideration which I have not found so well set forth anywhere else.

> One reason which suggests the view that the mediæval teaching is still perfectly applicable to economic life is that it was designed to operate upon the only factor of economic activity that has not changed since the Middle Ages—namely, the desires and conscience of man. . . . The fact of such unbelief or doubt [in the Christian religion] is no reason for refusing to adopt the Christian code of social justice, which is founded upon reason rather than upon revelation, and which has its roots in Greek Philosophy and Roman law rather than in the Bible and the writings of the Fathers.

That does not quite remove the difficulty, for we are still at a loss for a sanction for this ethical social code, such as was supplied by the authority of the Church in the Middle Ages. However, it would

not be reasonable to expect an adequate treatment of this and other practical points in an Essay which after all, most excellent and necessary as it is, is only an introduction to the practical study of Mediæval Economics. J. K.

*THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE.* By John Maynard Keynes, C.B. London: Macmillan. 1919. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. KEYNES' book when published in November last attracted general attention from statesmen and the public on both sides of the Atlantic. It was a frank and well-reasoned criticism of certain terms in the Peace Treaty imposed upon Germany, and incidentally an appreciation of the men by whom the terms were dictated and of the motives by which they were influenced. The criticism could not be overlooked or treated lightly. Mr. Keynes held high rank in the University of Cambridge, and owing to his recognised competence as an economist had been attached to the British Treasury during the war, and was their official representative at the Peace Conference. In June, 1919, he withdrew from these positions dissatisfied with the terms embodied in the draft of the Treaty of Peace, and despairing of securing the modifications which he deemed essential. The grounds of his resignation are stated in this volume, which he published five months later. With the purely political provisions of the Treaty Mr. Keynes does not concern himself, the setting up of new states and the pulling down of old ones, the fixing of boundaries, and the general re-arrangement of the map of Europe he leaves to the diplomatists.

As a member of the Supreme Economic Council he was interested before all else in the economic aspects of the Peace; viewing the treaty in this light he could not subscribe to its provisions. He believes furthermore that the Allies did not keep faith with the Germans, whose surrender was accepted by President Wilson on the conditions specified in his celebrated Fourteen Points, and in his speeches to Congress and elsewhere. In February, 1918, the President in his message to Congress had laid it down that in concluding peace there should be "no annexations, no *contributions*, no punitive damages." On the eve of the elections in the December of the same year when the armistice had been signed, the Prime Minister of England declared that his government had a right to demand from Germany the whole cost of the war, and that they proposed to demand the whole cost of the war.

He pledged himself and his Government [writes Mr. Keynes] to make demands of a helpless enemy inconsistent with solemn engagements on our part on the faith

of which the enemy had laid down his arms. There are few episodes in history which posterity will have less reason to condone—a war ostensibly waged in defence of the sanctity of international engagements ending in a definite breach of one of the most sacred possible of such engagements on the part of the victorious champions of these ideals.

That the Germans should make compensation for injuries and losses caused to non-combatants by their devastations, their exactions, and their looting accords fully with President Wilson's conditions of peace as laid down in his addresses. This is what is involved in his demand for "reparation." Beyond this he did not go; "annexations, contributions and punitive charges" he expressly excluded. On these among other terms the Germans laid down their arms; by these terms the parties to the armistice agreement were bound.

Calculated on this basis the claims of the Allies would, according to Mr, Keynes' reckoning, amount to about £2,000 million—they "would assuredly be found to exceed £1,600 million and to fall far short of £3,000 million." "It would have been a wise and just act to have asked the German Government at the Peace Negotiations to agree to a sum of £2,000 million, in final settlement, without further examination of particulars."

The Peace Conference met and, after long discussion, the terms of the Peace Treaty were drafted. But the amount of the claim upon Germany for "reparation" either could not be computed, or the Allies could not agree upon the sum to be demanded. To evade the difficulty a Reparation Commission was appointed "to determine the precise figure of the claim against the enemy Powers . . . and to draw up a schedule of payments providing for the discharge of the whole sum with interest within thirty years." The Commission was to complete its task by May, 1921, before which date a sum of £1,000 million was to be paid on account by Germany. For the guidance of the Commission the Conference added an "Annex" to the treaty in which were specified the various heads under which claims should be reckoned. Among these is a claim for the amount of the separation and similar allowances granted during the war by the Allied Governments to the families of mobilised persons and for the amount of the pensions and compensations in respect of the injury or death of combatants payable by these Governments now and hereafter. Mr. Keynes reckons that the amount payable under this head would be "twice as much again as the other claims added together." If this be not a "contribution" to the cost of the war it is difficult to understand what the term can mean to President Wilson. The introduction

of this claim into the treaty is one of the grounds on which Mr. Keynes holds that the terms of the armistice have been violated by the Allies in the Peace Treaty imposed upon Germany. He estimates that this claim added to the more legitimate "reparation" claims included in his calculation, raises the demand upon Germany to a total of £8,000 million. M. Klotz, French Minister of Finance, in his speech to the French Chamber, September 5, 1919, put the total amount of the Allied claims upon Germany at the less moderate figure of £15,000 million.

But these vast sums are wholly beyond the ability of Germany to pay. Even the £3,000 million which Mr. Keynes estimates as the maximum which any reasonable computation of genuine "reparation" claims would fix, he considers much more than her greatest efforts could meet. And he argues that a sum of £2,000 million would sufficiently discharge the Allied claims for reparation, and would leave to Germany the resources necessary to restore her economic life and recover something of her industrial standing in the European system. The crippling of German industry would be, he holds, a disaster for Europe. Before the war

> Germany was the best customer of Russia, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Austria-Hungary; she was the second best customer of Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark; and the third best customer of France. She was the largest source of supply to Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria; and the third largest source of supply to Great Britain, Belgium and France. In our own case we sent more exports to Germany than to any other country in the world except India, and we bought more from her than from any other country in the world except the United States.

It thus appears that the European countries, Great Britain included, cannot, without certain disaster to themselves, permit the productive activity of Germany to be seriously impaired. And Mr. Keynes shows that the payments demanded of her in the more extravagant estimates of her liability would reduce her to economic impotence. Even the £1,000 million which she is required to pay by May, 1921, is more than her available resources could supply. The gold with which the Imperial Bank could part, without risk of bankruptcy, the foreign securities which could be taken, the ships, coalfields, railways, and rolling stock already surrendered or to be surrendered and which count for part payment, amount in the aggregate to about £550 million. No considerable excess of exports over imports can be expected in the present year. Whence is the other half of the £1,000 million to be found if a fatal inroad be not made on the country's essential means of production? Mr. Keynes estimates that a restored Germany could show an excess

of exports over imports of £100 million. To that source he advises the Allies to look for payment of their claims; and reckoning the capitalised value of the excess at £2,000 million, he fixes this as the amount Germany could pay without ruin of her national industry, and widespread injury to the industries of Europe.

His arguments, which were at first received with little favour by the statesmen of the Supreme Council and by the nations which had suffered from Germany's aggression, seem now to be receiving attention from the Allied Governments and their peoples. As a result of the conference of Prime Ministers at Hythe a committee of experts appointed to study the question will determine how much and in what manner Germany can safely be called upon to pay. And though M. Poincaré has, in protest against this step towards a saner policy, resigned the Chairmanship of the Reparation Commission, and French publicists unite violently in denunciation of any indulgence towards Germany, there is happily every prospect that, as M. Tardieu puts it, Mr. Keynes will win. T. A. F.

## History.

*EVENING MEMORIES.* By William O'Brien. Dublin: Maunsel. 1920. 16*s.* net.

In this volume of over 500 pages Mr. William O'Brien completes the trilogy of his experiences. Of the previous volumes, *Recollections* brought the story of his career up to 1882, while the famous *Olive Branch* covered the period from 1890 to 1910. The gap of nine years is filled by the volume under review.

These were nine years of absorbing interest; the First Home Rule Bill of an English Liberal Ministry, its failure, and the long period of disorder and embitterment that followed: the Plan of Campaign and its partial success: the Balfour régime of a Coercion unexampled (until recently) in its severity: the fall of Parnell from power and his untimely death: these form the chain of events, through and round which Mr. O'Brien weaves his narrative.

Readers who will look in the book for a detailed and pragmatic history of these years will be disappointed. The author writes for those only who are familiar with the main current of events during the decade beginning with 1882; he is writing a veiled *apologia* for the satisfaction or confusion of those friends and foes who watched with apprehension or with interest the stormy and fitful activities which made up his political life. As the barque of Mr. O'Brien's fortunes races along with the current or lingers for a time in some backwash, we catch more or less prolonged

glimpses of the scenery, the banks or the rocks upon which he barely escapes shipwreck. There is an air of hurry and excitement throughout: the reader hastens from page to page, and most readers who wish to have a clear idea of what Mr. O'Brien has to tell us will need to go back and read most of it a second time. A good deal of it is worth more than a single reading. What he has to say about Parnell is the best part of the book—much of this is of first-rate value to the historian and the student of the inner side of Irish politics.

Through an unusually long political life Mr. O'Brien has displayed to an exceptional degree courage, tenacity of purpose, singleness of mind and an inexpugnable belief in his own rectitude and wisdom. These are not qualities to be despised in public life; and when the man who possesses them sits down at the end of his career to tell his story we will be wise to pay attention to what he says. His judgments upon friends and foes may be excessively indulgent or excessively harsh; he may pose somewhat for his own satisfaction or that of his friends; he may give disproportionate attention to the minor episodes in which he himself was left to be the single protagonist of the common cause; but when we allow for these causes of error (and similar allowances have to be made for everybody) what is left belongs to the central evidence on which historians rely.

There are many lessons for our own time to be learnt from these pages, but this is not the place to draw them or to elaborate their teaching. Everyone must be left to do that for himself, and it is hardly to be expected that the same lesson will be drawn by (say) Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. John Dillon. But all readers will recognise, as they will not perhaps (unless they have had exceptional knowledge) have recognised before, the almost insurmountable hill which the men of Mr. O'Brien's generation had to climb. Parnell and his followers were in the position of a man having to fight with an antagonist sitting astride upon his chest and declaring that while he had no objection to a fair fight anything that tended to disturb his seat constituted foul play. If Mr. O'Brien's book helps readers to a real understanding of this essential fact it will have done its work. R. M. H.

*UNE VILLE-EGLISE: GENEVE,* 1535-1907. Par Georges Goyau. Paris: Perrin. 1919. 7 fr.

M. GOYAU'S name is already deservedly known to many of our readers owing to his works dealing with the religious history of modern Germany and France. In the present volumes we are

given a satisfactory and attractive account of the four centuries' life of a religious creation, unique in modern times, a city republic converted into "a citadel of God," "a chosen people," whose political significance and activity were made completely subordinate to the religious.

True, Geneva has in all three titles to fame, being indissolubly associated with Calvin, Rousseau, and the Red Cross. Yet its connection with all three is not of equal intimacy. For though the charity which for so long formed a marked feature of Genevan life made its association with the Red Cross appropriate, yet the connection was in no sense of the essence of the city's life. As for Rousseau, few students of the "Citizen of Geneva" will feel inclined to dispute that his native city always exercises considerable influence on the details of his doctrines, or that the religion of the Genevan of the eighteenth century was much more akin to his than to that of Calvin. Still both Geneva and Rousseau would have been essentially what they were, had they been geographically much further apart. Geneva's historical significance is primarily due to its being the "chosen city" of Calvin, the expression of his politico-ecclesiastical genius and an important weapon in his vigorous campaign against Rome. Thereby it achieved an importance for the world altogether out of proportion to its political and material strength. It is a commonplace of history that the success, such as it was, of the Reformation was due less to the vague enthusiasm of Luther than to the political genius of Calvin. When we bear in mind the close connection between Geneva and the vigorous onslaughts of Calvinism, the interest of these volumes will be understood, in which we have clearly described to us what it was organised to be, and what spirit animated it in its bloom, when it was the Academy of the Reformed Church, the Anti-Rome, what De Bonald once called "a vast propaganda."

The title of these volumes admirably suggests their scope. For even though much space is given to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when rationalism was ever more surely supplanting the grim system of Calvin, yet it is the disintegration of his Ville-Eglise that we are witnessing. In addition there are many side-lights thrown on political psychology which will not be altogether without interest to the present day Irish readers. The book is professedly written from the Catholic standpoint, but does not fail to appreciate and emphasize the brighter side of the picture, and most of the criticisms that the author permits himself are really an exposition of the inconsistences in the original creation of Calvin, which given actuality and backed up by the force of

circumstances gradually brought about the separation of Church and State by the Law of 1907.

Occasionally the author might be more definite in his exposition, and his style, at times, relies too much on allusion. Many might have wished that he had addressed himself more expressly to the solution of certain problems which the relation of Calvin and his doctrines to his organising activities and his institutions inevitably gives rise to. But the author can give the sufficient answer that he is writing the history not of Calvin but of Geneva. We doubt, however, whether the same reply can be so satisfactorily made in connection with the inadequate treatment of the world-influence of the Ville-Eglise. J. M. O'S.

*LEABHAR CHLAINNE SUIBHNE: An account of the MacSweeney Families in Ireland, with Pedigrees.* By Rev Paul Walsh, M.A. Dublin: Dollard. 1920. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS volume, which is really an Irish text-book, is a version of an Irish manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy, with translation. It is a threefold compilation—the greater portion is a Book of the MacSweeneys ordered by Princess Mary Mac Suibhne, in 1513, while the second and third parts are a continuation of the history, together with a corpus of poetical extracts relating to this Ulster family.

An Introduction of 52 pages furnishes a very readable account of the various branches of the Mac Sweeney family, including those of Fanad, Baghuineach, na dTuath, and Connacht. Although Father Walsh asserts that the surname Mac Suibhne "in both its elements is undoubtedly Gaelic," the leading Scottish authorities, including Dr. Alexander Mac Bain, trace the family from Suibne, son of Nualgusa, of Norse or Scandinavian origin. Indeed the whole question of the Scandinavian influence in Ireland deserves serious study, and it would be an interesting study to trace the earliest history of Suibne, Reginald, Somerled and others of the Norse settlers.

We are told that "the first reference to the name Mac Suibhne in the Irish Annals is in 1267"—yet a Suibne is found in Ireland, in the close Rolls, as early as 1212, in the pay of King John, and we read in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, under date of 1265, of the arrest and death of Murchadh Mac Suibhne, an event which is given by the Four Masters at the year 1267. With regard to the etymological origin of the surname (which we are assured is "Gaelic"), it is disconcerting to be told a few paragraphs later that "probably the Mac Sweeneys derived from a similar origin to the Mac Donnells, who

were of Norse descent "—and it is added that "the Mac Cabes and the Mac Leods of Harris, who came to Ireland later, claimed descent from Scandinavian peoples." Incidentally it may be pointed out that Mac Leod of Harris was not the senior branch of this Norse family; this claim seems to belong to the Mac Leods of Lewis—who are the ancestors of the Ollghairs or Olivers, a favourite name with the Plunkets.

The long note at p. xxv. as to *buannacht bairr* is most interesting, and I have much pleasure in adding, that there is an old Irish tune of the early 18th century which appears under the corrupt Anglicised form of "Bonner bouer"—incorrectly attributed to Jackson. Even of greater interest is the actual date (1516) given for the building of the Carmelite Friary of Rathmullen—a date not generally accredited even in the recent history of Irish monasteries by the Irish Carmelite historiographer, Father James P. Rushe, O.D.C.

In regard to the Mac Sweeneys of Thomond after the Elizabethan wars Father Walsh has been unable to find any information, save the livery of lands of Colla Mac Sweeney to his son Hugh, in 1606. However a glance at the List of Forfeiting Proprietors and the owners of land in Co. Clare, as given by the late James Frost in his admirable history, will reveal much information as to the clan Suibhne in the mid-seventeenth century.

The Irish manuscript has several notes of human interest, and the scribe, Cithruadh Mac Ginnell, in the years 1513-1514, had much matrimonial trouble. Another scribe craves forgiveness for his imperfect work, as he was worried by Gillebrighde "and Grainne's cursing me, not to speak of myself being very ill."

Father Paul Walsh deserves all praise for his careful editing—and he has supplied valuable notes to the genealogies. Incidentally, too, he has shown the error of those who have equated Mac Suibhne na dTuath with Mac Sweeney "of the Battle Axes"—a false translation. An adequate Index gives a further value to this scholarly volume.

W. H. Grattan Flood.

*THE SKILLED LABOURER:* 1760-1832. By J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond. London: Longmans. 1919. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

This third volume of the social history of the Industrial Revolution is characterised by the same sober, historical spirit which was so noticeable in the two former volumes. The authors have steadily maintained their attitude of scientific historians, not allowing themselves to become the advocates of any theory or party, but content to set forth their facts in a clear and unbiassed manner.

The same reliance on careful research among original documents for these facts, the same moderation in their comments and impartiality in letting both sides of a question be heard, are as evident here as in their former works.

*The Skilled Labourer* is really a supplement to the *Town Labourer*, covering much the same ground but in greater detail. Various industries—textile and mining chiefly—are taken to show that in each industry separately were displayed those conditions of life and points of view of masters and men which were shown in the *Town Labourer* to be characteristic of the whole industrial and social system. The exploitation of the working classes, the cruelties of child labour, the making of a money wage earned by women and children as well as by men the basis of the workers' economic life, are here shown in concrete instances in the woollen and cotton trade as well as in mining and chimney sweeping.

The importance of this history of the Industrial Revolution is two-fold. It provides, as a solid foundation for all serious attempts at the reform of social problems, an accurate knowledge of the genesis of these problems. And secondly, the historical facts here set out constitute the best apology for a social revolution in England to-day that we remember to have seen. The supporters of the present régime will want to do some hard thinking to find any answer to the mulish logic of the facts which Mr. and Mrs. Hammond have brought together and expressed in such sober, measured and convincing language. There are, indeed, as Disraeli said, two nations in England : and we should like to know how far the citizens of the larger nation are bound to acquiesce in a condition of things set up by illegal, unconstitutional and unjust means.

Had the system thus set up brought peace and true prosperity to England, its evil origin might have been forgotten or condoned. But no such results have come from capitalism. The whole nineteenth century was one of growing unrest and class strife, and the twentieth century, with no uncertain hand, has written "Thecel" on the walls of this edifice of capitalism, the cost of which in human life and happiness has been so ably reckoned up by the authors of the *Skilled Labourer*. E. J. C.

*MEDIEVAL MEDICINE :* By James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., Sc.D., Litt.D. London : Black. 1920 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

DR. WALSH's book is one of the series of Medical History Manuals produced under the general editorship of Dr. J. D. Comrie, and the

author has been well chosen for his task. Despite the art, the literature, and the architecture of the "Dark Ages," we think the medieval practitioners must have had very rudimentary ideas of medicine. Let us consider the facts. The medicine of the Middle Ages was influenced by Greek and, to a lesser extent, by Arabian teaching, and in addition it was stimulated by the solicitude of the Church for the ailing. St. Benedict strongly advocated this corporal work of mercy, and at Salerno in Magna Graecia, where the Benedictines had a house, we find the first prominent medieval medical school. Being a health resort, there was no lack of clinical material. This school produced a number of famous men, and thousands of students and doctors flocked to it from many lands. It issued a "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum," dedicated curiously enough to the King of England. This was one of those old Latin jingles which were so easy to memorise in the days when printing was little used. There also survives a pamphlet on "The Coming of a Physician to his Patient." Some of the advice therein might equally well have come from the pen of Sir Dominic Corrigan. The medical course in Salerno, after a period of three years at college, lasted four years. Then followed a year in practice with a physician, and an additional year of study if one desired to take up surgery.

Such diseases as rabies, tetanus, filariasis, and bubonic plague were known to the medieval physician. The surgeons practised nerve-suture, trephined, used silver flanged tubes for intestinal anastomosis, and carried out plastic operations on the nose, lips, and ears, the skin of the arm being sometimes used to replace the missing epithelium. It was in the more enlightened eighteenth century that the Paris Faculty banned these plastic operations. Ligatures and anæsthetics were used, but there were periods when they fell into disrepute. We learn that the dentists were familiar with the use of the tooth-brush, removed tartar, filled teeth, and even practised transplantation. Similarly we read of laryngotomy, tracheotomy, removing of polypi by incision and cautery or by snaring, needling of cataracts, and the use of spectacles.

Remembering the architecture of the time, it is not surprising to learn that the hospitals of the Middle Ages were by no means unhygienic. They were well-planned, and had lofty, airy, well-lighted wards. So too with the leper houses—they were anything but what we have pictured them. By the isolation practised in these hospitals this scourage was got under control. The insane were also well cared for, and the feeble-minded were commonly sheltered in religious institutions in return for what little labour

they could perform. Imbecile children received their share of attention in these times.

The study of Medicine by women was encouraged during the Middle Ages. Some of them became professors in Salerno. At Bologna there was a lady prosector in anatomy. She appears to have been a very skilful dissector, and practised the injection and hardening of vessels. Another surprising anticipation of our own time was the institution of municipal scholarships. Ypres, then a flourishing city of several hundred thousand inhabitants, wanted a good surgeon. John Yperman was sent at the expense of the city to Paris to study Surgery. He returned with a great name, and even yet the Flemish call a good surgeon a "Yperman."

Dr. Walsh writes clearly, and his book is well worth reading. It is neatly got up, and contains eight full-page illustrations. The reader will regret that the medicine of the period has not been treated at greater length. W. D. O'K.

## Poetry.

*DON FOLQUET AND OTHER POEMS.* By Thomas Walsh. New York and London: John Lane. 1920. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS, Mr. Walsh's fourth volume of poems, contains one of his longest efforts. *Don Folquet* is a romantic treatment of a romantic medieval subject: it brings home to us the author's characteristic tastes, merits and weaknesses. He is interested in his theme and its picturesqueness; he therefore gives us an animated and coloured narrative. On the other hand, his "properties" have been handled before terribly often, and his presentation of them has added but little freshness. Perhaps these things seem newer in America. But really these Albigenses and Crusaders, these "sweet ladies" and "amorous swains" (yes, Mr. Walsh has the courage !), these "warring hordes," "squires and novices," hunting-horns and matin-bells, do not bring us very close to any real humanity—ancient or modern. Better, perhaps, is the vividly-lined study of a struggle between religious idealism and the forces of "youth and spring," which is set forth under the title of *Murillo's Assumption*. It would seem to be Murillo's Immaculate Conception that is the picture really meant. With lighter themes also Mr. Walsh dallies: the series of *Mother Goose Sonnets*—converted nursery rhymes—do not lack humour or satiric spice; we miss, however, something of ease in the choice of words and movement of the style. *In the Café Europa* shows favourably the poet's power of clear-cut and high-coloured presentation. The

brief tale, *Ad Limina*, wherein a lover lingers waiting for the entrance into heaven of the beloved still lingering on earth, is unmarred by the author's frequent artificiality of language, and escapes being too like *The Blessed Damozel*. Let us (with apologies) cut off for quotation its beginning and its end :—

> She lingered near the gates of heaven,
> Although the angels waved her on
> Unto the Throne where bent the Seven
> At their eternal antiphon. . . .
>
> The Great Archangel down came flying :
> "Why gaze you still towards earth so dim ?"
> She turned her gentle eyes, replying :
> "I must be first to welcome him"

G. O'N.

*SHINING FIELDS AND DARK TOWERS*. By John Bunker. New York and London : John Lane. 1919. 6*s*. net.

Mr. John Bunker has a style of his own. He sometimes, nay often, reminds us—but his echoes are usually of very illustrious predecessors, and they are justified as parts of a quite authentic music. In a poem written directly under the invocation and influence of Francis Thompson he sets forth, in order to protest against, certain modern defiances of authority and antiquity (p. 141) :—

> "No more," we said,
> "Will we bow down to the intolerant dead
> Who are beyond the scope of their lost seeing.
> Here on this plot of isolated being,
> Untouched of mystery and unnatural dread,
> We disavow all reverence and all fears,
> All vain ancestral pieties, all dreams. . . .
> Here, where we nothing know and nothing can
> Beyond the limits of this mortal span,
> Come what come may,
> Here we unchain our spirits of old sway,
> Scatter the dust-heap of all ancient lies
> And musty fables,
> Make mockery of knee-worship and fling down
> Altar and emblem . . . Yea, though wide heaven frown
> And cast its thunders on our helpless heads,
> To this we stand against what gods may be :
> We will no longer serve ; we will be free."

This the poet calls a "wild vaunt of madness." It goes, obviously, much beyond a renouncement of literary discipleships ; but in these, too, the writer can see good. In nothing has he shown such clear mastership as in his Shakespearian sonnets. For combined

nobility and simplicity, marked alike in the thought and in the form, it would not be easy, we think, to find among modern devotees of either Petrarchan or Shakespearian quatorzains, anything more admirable than some of John Bunker's. Having said so much, it may suffice to say of the rest of the volume that it is not unworthy of companionship with the sonnets. Not that all contained within its covers is of a character equally grave and elevated. The poet turns from speculations on ultimate things to effective utterances in a humorous or sarcastic vein. In such a vein *Tin Symphony* discusses a living literary problem :—

> There was a time
> When I looked askance on all *vers-librists*,
> Classing them as charlatans and shameless self-advertisers,
> Tin-symphonists,
> Fellows who rattled the pans in the kitchen of life
> And banged pots about
> With an infernal clatter
> Merely to attract the attention of the master of the house.

How the poet was reconciled (without enthusiasm) to *vers-libres* we will not unwarrantably reveal. The vivid *New York Sketches*—in *vers libres*—are a distinctly interesting section of a volume every part of which will repay attention. G. O'N.

*POEMS.* By Maurice O'Reilly. London and Edinburgh : Sands. 1920. 6*s.* net

SUBTLETY of sentiment or of verbal melody are not to be sought for in Father O'Reilly's verses ; but his substantial volume has substantial qualities—clearness and grip of thought, keen but controlled sympathies, and a just outlook on some big things of time and eternity. Nor does he lack a lyric skill which has evidently made him an appreciated provider of verses for festive and commemorative occasions. Of the more personal effusions *Good-bye* is perhaps the most striking. Australia, Ireland, and ill-used people of all sorts elicit feeling utterances. Some well-chosen pieces from German poets are well rendered into English. G. O'N.

## Political and Social Science.

*AUTHORITY IN THE MODERN STATE.* By Harold J. Laski. New Haven : Yale University Press. 1919. $3.00.

ONLY the first chapter of Mr. Laski's book deals with Authority in the Modern State. The rest of the work deals with De Bonald, Lamennais, Royer-Collard, and the French Civil Service. There

is thus not much unity in the book, though certain views of the author are emphasised throughout. Thus he is entirely opposed to the current confusion between State and Society and to what he calls "the traditional theory of the State," *i.e.*, the post-Reformation concept of a monistic absolutist sovereignty. Like the late Dr. Neville Figgis, whose views he adopts wholesale and whose subtle bigotry he has imbibed, Mr. Laski is an unconscious or partly conscious defender of the Catholic and Scholastic political theories. But it would never do to admit to himself or to his readers that such is really the case. Hence his adherence to the Catholic concept of natural law is combined with an amusingly involved and belaboured attempt to convince the reader that he is not really upholding anything so out of date. Towards the end even Mr. Laski becomes dissatisfied and snappily informs us on the second last page that "if that attitude is frankly medieval, it is none the worse for that." Which is a welcome but rather brief respite from such shallow flippancies as his references to the Scholastics (whom he never read and whose achievements he is borrowing at third-hand) who "slew truth with syllogisms" and to "the ruthless pettifogging logic of the medieval Scholastics." Rather like a schoolboy throwing stones at a library, is it not? As to the cheap sneers which disfigure the book—references to Romanists, papal despotism, and the like—the amenities of a review will only permit me to say that it is a pity Mr. Laski did not learn manners even in Oxford. There is one point, however, which I feel compelled to characterise as utterly unworthy of a straightforward scholar. After calmly appropriating all the typical political theses of the Schoolmen—such, for instance, as I have myself outlined in the pages of STUDIES—Mr. Laski turns to the easy task of criticising the views of a disgruntled and reactionary émigré like De Bonald, a man ignorant alike of Catholic philosophy and theology. Mr. Laski's object is to pretend that Bonald represents the orthodox Catholic view. "The theories of Bossuet," he says, "were but those of a De Bonald who had not yet encountered the Revolution. They enabled him to take firm hold of the theory of Divine Right—a theory which, through Suarez and Bellarmin, took him back to the great days of scholastic authority. . . . De Bonald was the last representative of that great tradition." What does Mr. Laski mean by mouthing the phrase Divine Right? Has he ever read a line of Suarez, Bellarmin or any other "scholastic authority"? His whole statement is simply a compound of amazing ignorance and bigoted effrontery. The book abounds in similar exhibitions of reckless and unsupported charges.

The publishers draw our attention to the author's "usual vivid and distinguished style." I confess I find Mr. Laski's style jerky and jumpy and often ungrammatical. He has made a regular cult of allusiveness; he can say nothing without referring to three other people. He has no doubts and no light and shade; his friends are classic, brilliant, famous, eloquent, incomparable, admirable, very precious, very able (all these epithets occur frequently); the rest—well they are probably mere Romanists. And running through the whole book is the constant striving to be smart, to win applause by dragging in "Hildebrand" or by heaping praise on every renegade from Catholicity. Doubtless Mr. Laski will find his appropriate audience. A. O'R.

*THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF JAMES CONNOLLY.* By Rev. L. McKenna, S.J. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society. 1920. Pages 49. Price, 1*s.* 3*d.*

IN re-issuing his *Irish Monthly* articles Fr. McKenna has fortunately subjected them to complete revision. The resultant estimate is far more favourable to Connolly than the original articles. Fr. McKenna's pamphlet is the first ostensibly Catholic effort to appreciate Connolly and not merely to denounce him. Since publishing his articles Fr. McKenna has evidently had access to the files of the *Workers' Republic*, which contain some of Connolly's most practical and mature views. The analysis of what Connolly exactly meant by his socialistic utterances might be clearer and more detailed and accompanied by more direct quotations. In fact it is a slight defect of the pamphlet that it is a little too high-brow and academic. One might be inclined to consider the treatment of Marxian materialism as irrelevant padding; and perhaps it is. But the Socialist Party of Ireland uses as text-books the out-of-date materialistic books of Engels, Morgan, &c. Let us hope that Fr. McKenna's pamphlet is but the first of a series of sympathetic, constructive, Catholic pamphlets; so that at the next Irish Trade Union Congress (unlike the present one in Cork) we shall see on sale Catholic booklets as well as materialistic. A. O'R.

## Religion.

*A HISTORY OF PENANCE.* By Oscar D. Watkins, M.A. 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1920. 42*s.* net.

SACRAMENTAL Theology is a branch of the Sacred Science whose sound development has been much retarded by insufficient attention

to historical research. Since the learned investigations of Morinus and Chardon in the 17th and 18th centuries, little advance has been made in this field, and many theologians have shown too marked a tendency to solve the grave historical problems, which cluster round the Sacraments, from an almost purely aprioristic standpoint. Recent decades, however, have witnessed a welcome change in this respect, and we now possess several valuable monographs on questions of sacramental history, and in particular on the varied practice of Penance in the Church.

The truly monumental work of the Rev. Mr. Watkins, which we have before us, is a veritable encyclopædia of information on this latter subject, and should prove invaluable, if not indeed indispensable, to all future students of this Sacrament. The first and larger volume deals with the development of the Church's penitential system during the first four and a half centuries. The period is divided by the author into eight well-defined phases, each dealt with in a separate chapter. The method is severely objective. Each chapter is prefaced by quotation *in extenso* of all documents bearing on the subject, the original Latin or Greek text being given in every case with full references to standard editions, and brief synopses in English of the contents of each passage. Then follows an admirable exposition and discussion of these authorities, giving full and accurate information regarding each, its author, authenticity, reliability as witness, date and circumstances of composition and other points of interest and importance.

The second volume deals in similar fashion with the Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215, the year of the Lateran Council, which finally crystallised the Church's practice. Of special interest in this section is the highly appreciative account the writer gives of the Irish Monasteries both at home in Ireland and in England and on the Continent. To them indeed he ascribes mainly the reform of the penitential system in the West and its adaptation to the needs of the new society which was springing up amid the ruins of the Roman Empire. Incidentally his quotations are interesting as showing that the success and popularity of the Irish monks abroad was largely due to the new facilities they offered for sacramental penance in an age, whose courage quailed before the traditional church discipline.

At the conclusion of each volume is a recapitulatory chapter reviewing the period covered. These two chapters the author recommends to those " who are not students of theology, but who wish to see the results of these studies."

For our part we should be inclined to consider these chapters the least valuable portion of the whole work. The author displays all the qualities of a first-rate scholar and textual critic, but seems to us less happy in the roles of historian and theologian. Indeed one looks in vain for anything but the vaguest outline of a theological system which might help to show the connexion and consistency of the marvellous variety of facts produced; while in discussing some of the problems which arise, such as the question of the "unforgiveable sin," he scarcely seems aware that anyone but Harnack has a view on the subject. But these limitations are not due, we think, to any intentional lack of impartiality on the part of Mr. Watkins, nor do they detract from the essential value of his work.

E. F. R.

*THE APOCRITICUS OF MACARIUS MAGNES.* By T. W. Crafer, D D.

*DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.* Vol. I. to A.D. 313. Edited by B. J. Kidd, D.D.

*DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE ON THE DIVINE NAMES AND THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY.* By C. E. Rolt.

*THE TREATISE OF NOVATIAN ON THE TRINITY.* By Herbert Moore, M.A.

*TERTULLIAN AGAINST PRAXEAS.* By A. Souter, D.Litt.

*THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.* By J. H. Srawley, D.D.

*TERTULLIAN CONCERNING PRAYER AND CONCERNING BAPTISM.* Translated by Alexander Souter, D.Litt.

London: S.P.C.K. 1920. Prices: Nos. 1-3, 7*s.* 6*d.* each; No. 4, 6*s.*; No. 5, 5*s.*; No. 6, 4*s.*; No. 7, 3*s.*

THE S.P.C.K. has laid us under a debt of gratitude for its fine series of translations of Christian literature. It is pleasant to be able to run one's hand along a row of well-printed, neatly bound volumes and pick out at will, say, St. Chrysostom *On the Priesthood*, the Epistles of St. Ignatius, Minucius Felix, a treatise of Tertullian, or St. Ambrose *On the Mysteries and the Sacraments*. The chief treasures of the patristic period are there to choose from in a form easy to handle and easy to read. The series should do much to popularise the study of the early Christian writers. The translations, if not "strained clear from every foreign dye," are good and accurate. The notes are helpful and do not distract too much from the text. The introductions deserve a special word of commendation. Many of the texts have critical and historical questions annexed, and these receive adequate, yet simple, treatment. We are not overwhelmed with a load of dry scholarship, but

are put in possession of the problems and the data for solving them in an easy and interesting manner. The introduction to the *Apocriticus* of Macarius Magnes by Dr. Crafer is a model of how such work should be done.

These texts are edited in no controversial spirit. The editors and translators present their authors simply as they interpret them. They are not directly concerned with modern differences of doctrinal interpretation. While this is calculated to make the series more widely popular, it also limits somewhat its value. The teaching of the Fathers is of such importance in the history of dogma that we cannot read them in a wholly detached spirit. Where doctrines peculiar to the Catholic church are concerned the S.P.C.K. texts must be read with caution. Controversial points can only be studied in the original texts and recognised commentators. To take an example at random, the phrase Προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης used by St. Ignatius the martyr of the Church of Rome is translated by Dr. Srawley, "holding the chief place in love," *i.e.*, in works of charity. This translation suits the language and the context, but there is nothing to suggest the alternative translation which many prefer, "presiding over the society of love," *i.e.*, the Christian Church.

This warning applies particularly to the *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*. It is a most interesting volume—225 extracts, covering the first three centuries of the Church's history. Pliny and Tacitus, Josephus and Suetonius, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Athanasius, and Augustine are only a few from a long list of authors cited. Heresies, persecutions, controversies, all the chequered course of early church history is reflected in these pages. Interesting certainly, but for serious study the book is not of much value. The extracts are too brief and isolated to throw a clear light on the history of dogma or disputed points of doctrine. Again, such a selection, even if not made to support any definite thesis, must be largely coloured by the compiler's views of what is important or useful. While the theologian or historian can pick his steps with care, the uninformed student will be liable to stumble without a guide. The passages cited are given without explanation or preamble. How is one to know, for example, that extract No. 120, entitled "The misdeeds of Callistus, Bishop of Rome," was written by the head of a schismatical party, an anti-pope in fact? The volume would be best employed in conjunction with a reliable Church history. It has a useful index. H. A. J.

## Industrial Alcohol.

*ALCOHOL.* By Charles Simmonds. London: Macmillan. 1919. 21s. net.

THE professional duties of the author, an analyst in the Government laboratory, have led to his acquaintance with alcohol in its most diverse aspects, and therefore to his being well qualified to write a monograph on the substance.

The book under review describes clearly, if succinctly, the production of alcohol from its chief sources—potatoes, sugar-beet, grain, molasses and wood-pulp—and indicates how it may be obtained from coke-oven gas or from calcium carbide. The chemical and the physical properties of alcohol are fully dealt with, and the various methods for estimating it and its impurities are fully discussed. From the analytical side, which comes to the forefront again in the chapter on spirituous beverages, the subject is more fully developed than from the industrial. Nevertheless in the chapters dealing with the use of alcohol in chemical manufactures, such as those carried on in the explosives and dyestuffs industries, and with its use in the development of light, heat and power many facts are stated which cannot fail to excite the interest of the reader. The last chapter describes the physiological effects of alcohol, and forms a fitting conclusion to a carefully written book.

The author mentions in the preface that the amount of alcohol consumed in a country's manufactures is a good index of the country's prosperity. However this may be, there is no doubt that cheap alcohol is a *sine qua non* for many industries, and it may be well therefore to consider briefly the author's statements in so far as they have a bearing on our own country.

Here, as in Scotland, alcohol is obtained from grain only. Elsewhere it is made from other materials. In France it is manufactured from sugar-beet and potatoes, in Germany from potatoes, grain and (within the last couple of years) from calcium carbide, and in the United States from grain, molasses and, to a small extent, from wood pulp.

Labour and transport conditions, and the nature of the soil and of the climate are the main factors determining what will be the cheapest source of alcohol for any given country. In some countries this may be molasses; in others maize, cassava tubers or manhua flowers; and in still others potatoes or wood waste. The potato forms the cheapest vegetable source of alcohol in those portions of Europe where the soil is naturally poor and labour is cheap. In richer and more thickly populated districts the market

value of the potato as a foodstuff is so high that this substance cannot with advantage be used as a source of alcohol. The north-eastern provinces of Germany are better adapted for the growth of potatoes than for that of any other crop. Hence it happened that the policy of that country, which favoured agriculture, led to over-production of potatoes. Under these conditions the potato became the cheapest vegetable material for the manufacture of alcohol in Europe.

This does not necessarily mean that the potato will always remain so. As a matter of fact during the Great War the scarcity of foodstuffs in the Central Empires led to much research on commercially remunerative methods for the manufacture of alcohol from inorganic materials such as calcium carbide. The enactment of the Imperial Spirit Monopoly Bill of 1918, by which the production of alcohol from wood and calcium carbide is reserved for the State "in order to guard against a development which, under free competition, would be dangerous to agriculture," suggests that these researches have been successful. Where cheap power is available, as in Scandinavia, Switzerland and Canada, no doubt these investigations will be prosecuted. England and the United States will naturally try to elaborate the production of alcohol from coke-oven gas into a successful commercial process. In the Tropics manhua flowers, cassava roots, molasses and maize will be largely used; but in our own country, so far as native materials are concerned, we must rely either on vegetable materials such as grain and potatoes, or on calcium carbide.

As a ton of grain gives about 70 gallons of alcohol, and a ton of potatoes only about 26 gallons, it would at first sight appear that the grain is the better material for the manufacture. When we remember, however, that from an acre of ground about 6 tons of potatoes are at present obtained and only about 27 bushels of grain, it will be seen that the yield of alcohol from an acre of potatoes is more than double that got from an acre of grain. In many cases, indeed, the weighed yield of potatoes grown in the most widely separated districts of Ireland has exceeded 10 tons per acre, corresponding to an alcohol yield of about 260 gallons per acre. So long as the amount of land under tillage is only just sufficient to meet the foodstuff demands of the people the market value of the potato will be too high to allow of it becoming a source for the production of very cheap alcohol. If cheap, even if poor, land were available for the growth of potatoes on a large scale, and if cheap fuel were also at hand, there is no doubt that the manufacture of starch, dextrine and alcohol from potatoes would

at present be very remunerative. It need hardly be mentioned that in the great central plain of Ireland there are thousands, and even hundreds of thousands, of acres of waste land which could without any great expenditure of money be made satisfy these conditions. Progress, however, never halts, and it may be that in five or ten years alcohol from calcium carbide, wood waste or sulphite liquor will drive the fermentation spirit from the market.

Mr. Simmonds considers the industrial utilisation of alcohol from two standpoints. For certain manufacturing processes alcohol is necessary, and in these processes it cannot be replaced by any other substance. Its production from the cheapest possible materials will therefore be always an industrial necessity. On the other hand, alcohol as a source of light, heat and power is in competition with other bodies such as peat, lignite, coal and mineral oils (light or heavy), and at present it is only under exceptional circumstances that the competition of alcohol can be successful.

Ten tons of potatoes contain as a rule two tons of starch, which on fermentation generally give one ton of alcohol having a fuel value somewhat less than that of one ton of coal. Moreover the operations involved in the manufacture of one ton of alcohol from potatoes require the expenditure in power and heat of about two tons of coal. The net result of the process is that from ten tons of potatoes and two tons of coal a quantity of alcohol is obtained which has a fuel value rather less than that of one ton of coal.

For power purposes the case is somewhat different. If we assume that the thermal efficiency of an alcohol motor is about five times that of a coal-fed steam engine, then, apart from general expenses in the distilling, ten tons of potatoes and two tons of coal will give the alcohol equivalent of five tons of coal. Only in very small engines, especially those of automobiles, can alcohol compete with coal in the production of power, and in these cases it meets another rival—petrol. Where potatoes are cheap and petrol is dear, as in Germany, alcohol may be the cheaper source of power; but in other countries and under other conditions the positions may be reversed. In the United States, for instance, in 1917 the price of petrol was 20 cents a gallon. At this price petrol for power purposes was equivalent to alcohol costing 10 cents for a United States proof gallon. If this cheap alcohol were to be obtained from potatoes, the price of the latter could not exceed 20 cents a bushel. As a matter of fact the average market value of potatoes in America during 1907-1915 was 61·4 cents a bushel.

HUGH RYAN.

## India at the Cross-roads.

*INDIA'S SILENT REVOLUTION.* By Fred B. Fisher. New York: Macmillan. 1919. $1.50.

*A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.* By Sir Verney Lovett. London: Murray. 1920. 12*s.* net.

These two books taken together present an interesting and illuminating picture of modern India. Mr. Fisher, who is naturally more detached if less experienced, endeavours to present from the American viewpoint the economic, social, political, and religious situation in India; Sir Verney Lovett, who is a retired Indian Civil Servant with a record of distinguished service, describes the origin, causes, and progress of the Nationalist movement in India from the standpoint of an Indian official.

It must be clear to the dullest observer that India now stands at the cross-roads. Will she become a coherent national unit with self-governing institutions of a European and democratic type, or will she turn aside from the West and disintegrate into a number of purely Asiatic states? The answer to these questions depends in great measure on the action of her English rulers, but even more on the development of her own people. It must not be forgotten that India is of Aryan stock like ourselves. Max Muller wrote: "Even the blackest Hindu represents an earlier stage of Aryan speech than the fairest Scandinavian." But it is this very question of language which is the most effective bar to the realisation of India's nationality. The babel of tongues, the multiplicity of races, and the two dominant religions which go to make up the geographical unit of India are the most effective bars to her political unity. Strangely enough, as Professor Gilchrist has recently pointed out, it is not impossible that English may become the universal language of India. Such a result would provide one solution of the language difficulty, as it has done under not dissimilar conditions in the United States.

But the religious question is even more difficult. The Hindu institution of caste forms an almost insurmountable barrier which, as Sir Verney Lovett states, is the very foundation of the Hindu religious and social edifice. Its serious results may be realised when we learn that not only are about 50,000,000 of Hindus treated as untouchable by the higher castes of their own faith, but in parts of Southern India they are even regarded as unapproachable. They are not allowed to enter the temples or use the village wells. The aspirations of nationality can have no real vitality under such conditions.

Nevertheless, the last fifty years have shown a marked develop-

ment. Side by side with the old religions has grown up a new force —that of politics. And this political movement is largely economic in its nature. Its underlying principle is "swarajya," which is apparently the Hindu equivalent of Sinn Fein; and one of its weapons is the Swadeshi movement for the encouragement of native manufacture.

The economic position of India is indeed peculiar. Over ninety per cent. of her population are engaged in agriculture, with the result that bad weather with a poor harvest plunges the whole country into poverty, and is one of the chief causes of the terrific famines. A country with an average income of £4 a year has not much margin to meet starvation. At one time, it is true, her cotton industries flourished; but, as Mr. Fisher points out, "the natural instinct of Englishmen in the first flush of colonial adventure to develop home industries at the cost of the far-away dependency, and the unfortunate coincidence for India of the invention of power looms and the factory system at just this moment" led to "the incredibly abrupt strangling of a great industry." Mr. Fisher also shows clearly that even the industries which are left exist under appalling conditions, and he depicts great industrial plants wedging their thousands of employees into the crooked and unsanitary streets of an Oriental city. Think of Calcutta with its death-rate of 36 per thousand!

According to Mr. Fisher, India is in silent revolution against the arrogance and brutality of Brahmanism and the caste system. Here, he thinks, is a great field for the Christian missionaries to cultivate. But he believes that, with its fifty-three million illiterates, it is at present impossible for it to achieve any form of intelligent democracy. Nevertheless, he thinks that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, if carried into effect, lays a deep and strong foundation for representative government in India.

Sir Verney Lovett's book is entirely concerned with the history of the Indian Nationalist movement, and traces the development of the various National Congresses from their inception in 1885 up to the present in a clear if somewhat official manner. From these Congresses grew the Indian Home Rule movement, which draws its inspiration largely from Ireland. So much is this the case that we find Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose name betrays him, solemnly lecturing his Punjab Council on the iniquities of Irish Home Rule: "In the matter of Home Rule I fear the case of Ireland, in so far as it is analogous at all, conveys a lesson and a warning." Sir Verney Lovett is candid enough to admit that in the matter of industrial development "there was no systematic investigation of

the problems peculiar to India, and there was no attempt on the part of the Government or the people to make India economically self-supporting.

Neither of the books under review contains an index, and Mr. Fisher has adorned his with a scrappy collection of pictures, many of which are obviously labelled with a view to effect rather than accuracy. Both contain summaries of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report; but neither, although Sir Verney Lovett's was published since its enactment, describes the new Government of India Act.

This Act sets up a Central Legislature for all India, consisting of two Chambers—the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State—both directly elected. When either Chamber refuses or unacceptably amends a Bill, it may be passed with the consent of the other Chamber, or if both refuse, by the act of the Governor-General; but, except in cases of emergency, it will not take effect until assented to by the King in Council. The Budget is to be submitted to both Chambers, but certain items (including the cost of defence, the debt charges, and certain fixed salaries) are to be excluded from the process of being voted. The power of restoration of refused votes is to be reserved to the Governor-General in Council. The nine provinces are to be governed by a form of diarchy, namely, an official and a non-official element. The official element will be the Governor and an Executive Council of two officials, one of whom is to be an Indian, and the non-official a Legislature of which seventy per cent. will be elected. This Legislature will deal with certain "transferred subjects," such as local government, public health, education, agriculture, development of industries, and public works. The provincial governments are to have the largest measure of independence (legislative, administrative, and financial) of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its responsibilities to the Imperial Parliament. The electorate is to be increased to 5,000,000, and the respective legislatures have the power to enfranchise women on the same terms as men. In ten years a statutory commission is to revise the working of the Act, and to report as to whether it is desirable to extend or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing.

It cannot be said that these provisions err on the side of generosity; nevertheless, they certainly provide a starting point from which much may be achieved, and one must recognise that it is impossible under present conditions to deal with problems of Indian government on a frankly European basis. When all is said and done, the future of India must depend upon the people of India themselves.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

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The Wholesale Society was established to undertake the wholesale trading of the Irish Co-operative Movement. Twenty-one years ago its sales amounted to £14,500. Last year its sales approximated to £1,000,000. **All the business of the co-operative movement can be done by the Wholesale Society. BANKING, AGRICULTURAL and DOMESTIC SUPPLIES, DAIRY, AGRICULTURAL and MILLING ENGINEERING.** Ask the Wholesale to quote for your requirements.

## WHAT THE I.A.W.S. CAN DO!

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